'Ladies of much ability and intelligence' : gendered relations in British Protestant missions.

Semple, Rhonda Anne

"LADIES OF MUCH ABILITY AND INTELLIGENCE":

GENDERED RELATIONS

IN BRITISH PROTESTANT MISSIONS, 1865-1910

by Rhonda Anne Semple

(King's College London)

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the role gender played in the professional development of British Protestant missions between 1865, when Hudson Taylor began his recruitment of lay men and women to evangelise the interior of China, and 1910, when at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference guidelines for the recruitment and training of women candidates were presented to an international mission audience. It examines how gendered notions of women's roles in religion and society shaped not only the recruitment of female mission personnel, but also, albeit indirectly, influenced the direction to which mission work turned in the twentieth century. The contribution of gender in the mission project cannot be studied in isolation from the wider context of British social history. The men and women whose religious beliefs were put into action as members of or workers in missions were both constrained and empowered by their experiences in industrialising Great Britain. Furthermore, at home, the national culture, class and theological background under which candidates were raised shaped both the candidates themselves and the mission societies to which they applied.

In order to do justice to both such broad and specific considerations, the dissertation examines a wide sample of individuals from several missions, and follows their progress through the many stages of their association with missions. Thus it begins, as far as archival materials allow, by following as many candidates as was possible through their application procedure. The personnel in the mainstream, non-conformist London Missionary Society (LMS) are analysed alongside those of the Scottish Presbyterians (CofS and FCofS), and the non-denominational China Inland Mission (CIM), to establish an understanding of the unique national, social, and theological characteristics of each mission. This thesis also examines carefully the language employed by individuals making applications to the various societies, and the way in which they described their faith and work in the mission endeavour. Such close attention to language has allowed religion to take its place in the social history of mission candidates and the evolving hierarchy of relations in mission societies. This approach offers an effective means of conceptualising the role of women, and of making use of a historical record in which their voice is often muted.

During the period 1865 to 1910 the number of women in the mission field grew exponentially, and lay workers, both male and female, came to outnumber the ordained clerics who had dominated missions throughout the nineteenth century. However, the male workers, and often those were ordained, continued to dominate mission administration throughout this period, as demonstrated by their strong presence in mission records. Nevertheless, in each of the LMS, Scots Presbyterian missions and the CIM, it is possible to chart the influence that lay workers gradually brought to bear on their mission colleagues. The dissertation explores how women in particular brought specific skills to missions which have been overlooked in previous studies of the subject; it shows how they expanded the notion of what constituted valid mission labour, and in so doing changed the concept of mission professionalism. Women's very emotive participation in British evangelical revivals, coupled with their success in communicating with mission supporters, gradually influenced their male colleagues to consider as less marginal, and more central to mission work and church work in general, the type of activities women had previously engaged in on a volunteer basis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the generous support of several funding agencies and many individuals. My studies were aided for three years by the ORS Awards Scheme administered by the CVPC, for which I am truly grateful. My research activities were also supported at various times by grants from the Royal Historical Society, King's College Small Research Fund, and the Institute of Historical Research. To each of these awarding bodies I would like to express my sincere appreciation. I have also been fortunate to be involved with the North Atlantic Missiology Project - NAMP (now Currents in World Christianity - CWC) over the past four years. Under their auspices I attended conferences in both Britain and the United States. More than the simple provision of funding, NAMP/CWC's carefully conceived programs facilitate academic exchange and collegial interactions, from each of which I have benefited.

I am also extremely grateful to Andrew Porter for supervising this Ph.D. with unflinching rigour and warm good humour. He has been unfailingly generous with his time and knowledge, despite the fact that extra-collegiate activities drew my attention from the work at hand with too great regularity. Many thanks to Douglas Peers who has served as both a trans-Atlantic cheer-leader and informal advisor for four years. Gary Tiedemann and Andrew Porter gave me permission to use maps for this dissertation for which I would like to extend my appreciation. Photographs were used with the permission of the SOAS Archivist. The majority of the research for this dissertation was carried out in the archives of the National Library of Scotland (NLS) and the School of Oriental and African Studies, London (SOAS), and I spent shorter periods of time in the Aberdeen Municipal Archives and the University of Aberdeen Library, the Berkshire Record Office, and the Wellcome Institute Library. Without exception, I was extended not only professional service, but interested help in each of these archives. I would like to make special mention of Rosemary Seton and the staff in the SOAS archives, who not only care for the mission archives with professional expertise, but do their utmost to make SOAS accessible and welcoming to every researcher of missions.

Two addresses in London have been 'homes' of sorts during my tenure in London. I join a long line of students who have haunted the IHR, where I worked at various part-time jobs, attended seminars, and drank too much tea in the Common Room. Bridget Taylor was a warm and helpful presence for the first three years of my studies and I benefited from her interest in the well-being of my young family. Thank you also to the members of the Imperial Seminar, particularly Peter Marshall, who treated this young scholar with friendly collegiality from my first introduction to their esteemed gathering. North on the Northern Line lies Nansen Village, where my family and I found a safe home, and an extended family which now spans continents and time zones. Nicholas St.Hill in particular shared his computer expertise with me as this thesis neared completion. Without his help I would have been lost. Both good and bad, living at Nansen Village has been as much of an education in life as has my formal education.

My studies would not have been possible without the generous financial support of the Franklin and Semple families. For this I extend not nearly enough appreciation. I am thankful for all the love and support my family and Canadian friends have extended to me throughout my tenure in England. Further than this, if my studies have taught me anything, it has been how much I am a product of my own background and training. In part this dissertation represents the gendered expectations of my own family, that there was nothing 'the girls' were not capable of doing with enough hard work. We gained assurance from the constant interest from, and support of, a large extended family. Three individuals in particular have been very much a part of this labour. Rebecca Anne and Gavin James arrived unexpectedly into my plans for higher education, and I have richly benefited from the education they have provided me. Finally, this dissertation belongs as much to my husband David as to me. He has uncomplainingly supported this endeavour from the beginning, and has had much more faith in me all the way along than I have had in myself. I can never say a rich enough thank you, but may this be a beginning.

This work is lovingly dedicated
to my Grandma

Annie Gertrude Franklin
(1907 to 1999)
whose fingers never stopped working for the next charity bazaar.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	Association of Asian Studies
ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ACA	Aberdeen City Archive
AML	Aberdeen Municipal Library
BHM	*Bulletin of the History of Medicine*
BRO	Berkshire Record Office
CIM	China Inland Mission
CCM	China Council Minutes, of the CIM
CM	*China's Millions*
CofS	Church of Scotland
CP	China Papers, of the CIM (CIM/CP)
CP	Candidates Papers, of the Council for World Mission
CWM	Council for World Mission
EHM	Eastern Himalayan Mission
EMMS	Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society
FMI	*Female Missionary Intelligencer*
FCofS	Free Church of Scotland
FCofSFMC	Free Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee
FECM	*Free East Church Magazine*
FS	*Feminist Studies*
GLZMC	Glasgow Ladies Zenana Mission Committee
HJ	*Historical Journal*
HFMR	*Home and Foreign Missionary Record* of the CofS
ICHR	*Indian Church History Review*
IBMR	*International Bulletin of Missionary Research*
GH	*Gender and History*
HJ	*Historical Journal*
HFMR	*Home and Foreign Missionary Record*
JBS	*Journal of British Studies*
JICH	*Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*
JURCHS	*Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*
LB	Letter book
LCM	London Council Minutes, of the CIM
LMS	London Missionary Society
LSMW	London School of Medicine for Women
LZAEFI	Ladies Zenana Association for the Education of Females in India
LZMC	Ladies Zenana Mission Committee
MB	Minute book
NCC	North China Correspondence
NI(UP)C	North India (United Provinces) Correspondence
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NMS	Norwegian Missionary Society
OMF	Overseas Missionary Fellowship
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
SCHS	*Records of the Scottish Church History Society*
SHR	*Scottish Historical Review*
SCH	*Studies in Church History*

SLAAFEI	Scottish Ladies Association for the Advancement of Female Education in India
SSPCK	Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
SPCK	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
SUM	Scottish Universities Mission
SVM	Student Volunteer Movement
UAA	University of Aberdeen Archives
UFCofS	United Free Church of Scotland
UPC	United Presbyterian Church
UPMR	*United Presbyterian Mission Record*
WAFM	Women's Association for Foreign Missions
WFMC	Women's Foreign Mission Committee
WG	Women's Guild
WIHM	Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine
WMC	Women's Missionary College
WMMS	Women's Medical Missionary Society
WSIF	*Women's Studies International Forum*
WTI	Women's Training Institute
YMG	Young Men's Guild

Notes on Citation Style

The majority of the records of the CWM and CIM/OMF cited in this work are housed in the Archives at SOAS. The few instances where material from Local Record Offices is cited are noted specifically, otherwise the archive is omitted from the footnote citation.

A shorthand is used to cite the regularly used collections within these archives:

The CWM are referenced as numbered or lettered divisions Box/Folder/Jacket/Letter or candidate number, for each of which a digit alone is provided. Thus, an unnumbered LMS letter from the United Provinces, stored in Box 12, Folder 2, Jacket B at the CWM Archives at SOAS appears as:
CWM NI(UP)C 12/2/B J. Hewlett to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 10 December 1884.

The CIM material is largely drawn from the London and China Councils. Each of these series is made up of numbered volumes. The London Council material is referenced as CIM/LCM 5. China Council minutes are referenced as China Papers: CIM/CP 75.

Most of the archival material referenced for the Presbyterian societies is housed in the National Library of Scotland (NLS). Where material from other sources is made reference to in this thesis, the specific archive is noted. Otherwise, NLS is not cited regularly.

The NLS material is referenced in a numbered sequence prefixed by MS or MS.Dep. It is referenced using this number followed by the organization which produced the given document, the title of the material and a folio number. A typical example is a letter written by the convenor of the FMC to a missionary:
MS.7534 CofSFMC LB of the Convenor ff.132, J. McMurtrie to Wm. Hastie, 6 November 1879.

Chapter One

"Under the Influence of Wise and Devoted and Spiritually Minded Colleagues"

Go forth, go forth rejoicing,
And in the Master's name,
To weary souls that perish,
Eternal life proclaim!
The crowning day is coming;
The end of toil and sin;
March on through grace determined
The world for Christ to win![1]

1.1 Introduction

Writing to the Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society in 1884, John Hewlett, one of the senior male missionaries in the United Provinces, described his female co-worker as "a lady of much ability and intelligence". However, his assertion that she was sure to become a good missionary was qualified with the caveat "provided she is under the influence of wise and devoted and spiritually minded colleagues".[2] In its entirety, this statement neatly encapsulates the experiences of British women becoming professional missionaries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Hewlett's description of his colleague illustrates the ambiguities of her position. While he expressed an appreciation of her intelligence and ability, she remained for him a 'lady'. On one hand this was a compliment and denoted that she had developed qualities which might be considered valuable. On the other, the designation relegated her to a position subordinate to that of her male colleagues, under whose guidance she was being counselled to remain. This is most clearly shown by the fact that it is the senior male who is discussing his junior female counterpart. This situation is repeated again and again in the mission record. The differences in gender, age, training and experience being carefully negotiated by these two colleagues were not only replicated throughout British Protestant missions, but throughout wider British society as well.

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[1] "A New Year Rallying Song - The World for Christ" by Fanny Crosby, The Helping Hand reproduced in *WMM* of the FCofS XI(1911), p.20.
[2] CWM NI(UP)C 12 2/B J. Hewlett to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 10 December 1884.

This dissertation examines the role gender played in the professional development of British Protestant missions between 1865, when Hudson Taylor began his recruitment of lay men and women to evangelise the interior of China, and 1910, when at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference guidelines for the recruitment and training of women candidates were presented to an international mission audience. It examines how gendered notions of women's roles in religion and society shaped not only the recruitment of female mission personnel, but also contributed to the creation of a specific mission rhetoric, termed 'women's work for women'. Albeit indirectly, these in turn influenced the direction to which mission work turned in the twentieth century. Thus, the importance played by gender in the mission project cannot be studied in isolation from the wider context of British social history. The men and women whose religious beliefs were put into action as members of or workers in missions were both constrained and empowered by their experiences in industrialising Great Britain. Furthermore, at home, the national culture, class and theological background under which candidates were raised, shaped both the candidates themselves and the mission societies to which they applied. This was further refined by contemporary notions of race and indigenous culture. Each field in which mission societies established themselves offered unique challenges to the planned approach, however space does not permit the complete consideration of such issues.

In order to do justice to both such broad and specific considerations, the dissertation examines a wide sample of individuals from several missions, and follows their progress through the many stages of their association with missions. Thus it begins, as far as archival materials allow, by following as many candidates as was possible through their application procedure. The personnel in the mainstream, non-conformist London Missionary Society (LMS) were analysed alongside those of the Scottish Presbyterians (CofS and FCofS), and the non-denominational China Inland Mission (CIM), to establish an understanding of the unique national, social, and theological characteristics of each mission.[3] I have also examined carefully the language employed by individuals making applications to the various societies, and the way in which they described their faith and

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[3]The London Missionary Society (founded 1795) evolved into the Congregational Council for World Mission in 1966, and then the Council for World Mission in 1977. The China Inland Mission (founded 1865) changed its name in 1951 after the mission pulled its personnel out of China and changed the focus of its work to include other parts of Asia.

work in the mission endeavour. Such close attention to language has allowed religion to take its place in the social history of mission candidates and the evolving hierarchy of relations in mission societies. This approach offers an effective means of conceptualising the role of women, and of making use of a historical record in which their voice is often muted.

During the period 1865 to 1910 the number of women in the mission field grew exponentially, and lay workers, both male and female, came to outnumber the ordained clerics who had dominated missions throughout the nineteenth century. However, the male workers, and often those who were ordained, continued to dominate mission administration throughout this period, as demonstrated by their strong presence in mission records. Nevertheless, in each of the LMS, Scots Presbyterian missions and the CIM, it is possible to chart the influence that lay workers gradually brought to bear on their mission colleagues. The dissertation explores how women in particular brought specific skills to missions which have been overlooked in previous studies of the subject; it shows how they expanded the notion of what constituted valid mission labour, and in so doing changed the concept of mission professionalism. Women's very emotive participation in British evangelical revivals, coupled with their success in communicating with mission supporters, gradually influenced their male colleagues to consider as less marginal, and more central to mission work and church work in general, the type of activities women had previously engaged in on a volunteer basis.

A consideration of the concept of labour and its value is central to the arguments in this dissertation. In part the history of women in missions has been one of charting their entry into the paid mission workforce, and of discovering how opportunities grew for their professional preparation to do so. However, this superficial consideration of women and women's work, an initial response from historians to the lack of writing about women, resulted at least in part from a paucity of sources relating to the subject. The inevitable result was to stop asking questions which could not be answered, and instead to ask the questions which were appropriate to the available material. This led to a greater emphasis being placed on social relationships and non-professional volunteer activities, and a move away from the sorts of activities traditionally considered as 'professional' (schooling and work experience). Another result was to place more weight on a wider variety of

professions. An example of this was the attention paid to women in para-medical professions, and not only the first British women to train as doctors at the end of the nineteenth century. This shift in focus was initiated in order to discover in greater detail how gender influenced the creation of missionaries, and thus altered the direction of missions themselves. The object of this research (relationships and professionally marginal behaviour) was begun with women in mind out of necessity, yet it became clear that examining the material available on male mission candidates and workers could be an instructive process. Prior to their employment by mission societies men were as involved in many of the same voluntary social and religious activities as were young women, yet even throughout the 1910s they consistently failed to refer to them as part of their religious and professional preparation. Involvement in these activities nevertheless certainly appeared to influence men's work in the mission field, and in a few notable cases, became the central and successful focus of a changing mission methodology.

1.2 Historiographical Context

This study contributes to several intertwining strands of historical investigation. Missions have been the subject of popular writing from their inception, and it was the societies themselves which commissioned the first official mission histories.[4] The writing of these continues to the present day: the most recent collection of edited work on the Church Mission Society was published in the early months of 2000.[5] Missions have been the focus of academic study in various disciplines for decades. Their history has benefited from the contributions made by anthropologists and sociologists and from the perspectives of religious and literary studies. Focus has shifted from the study of the impact of western religious institutions dominated by middle-class males to the other

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[4]Lovett, R. (1899) History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895 With Portraits and Maps 2 vols. (London); Guinness, N.G. (1894) The Story of the China Inland Mission 2 vols., (London); Goodall, Norman (1954) A History of the London Missionary Society, 1895-1945 (London); Hewat, Elizabeth G.K. (1960) Vision and Achievement 1796-1956: A History of the Churches United in the Church of Scotland (Edinburgh).

[5]Broomhall, A.J. (1984) Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century 7 vols., (London); Stanley, Brian (1992) A History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1992 (Edinburgh); Thorogood, Bernard (ed.) (1994) Gales of Change Responding to a Shifting Missionary Context: The Story of the London Missionary Society 1945-1977 (Geneva); Ward, Kevin; Stanley, Brian (eds.) (2000) The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799-1999 in Studies in the History of Christian Missions (Richmond).

players active in the mission field.[6] Primary material generated in missions has contributed to linguistic, cultural and anthropological studies of the various countries in which Christian missionaries were active.[7] Most recently, interest has shifted back to the Western countries in order to understand more clearly the social conditions and religious impulse which generated the Protestant mission movement. This is in part a shift back from, yet not away from area studies of mission fields, since it is now understood each cannot be disentangled from the other. The consideration of home and field as two interconnected parts reflects the growing interest in the history of missions and the role played by missions and missionaries in the British Empire.[8] These underline the fact that colonial and mission activities were never aligned with one another in a straightforward manner.

The study of gender in missions is also part of the growing body of work which deals with the contribution women made to the Empire in general. This research has focused attention on the personal and professional opportunities afforded to women as British influence spread across the globe.[9] The rhetoric of 'women's work for women' opened opportunities for western females by allowing them to urge the necessity of women's

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[6]Latourette, Kenneth Scott (1949) A History of the Expansion of Christianity to the Nineteenth Century 6 vols. (London); Neill, Stephen (1984) A History of Christianity in India: The Beginning to A.D. 1707 (Cambridge); Oddie, G.A. (1979) Social Protest in India: British Protestant Missionaries and Social Reforms 1850-1900 (New Delhi); Barr, Pat (1972) To China With Love: The Lives and Times of Protestant Missionaries in China, 1860-1900 (Cambridge, Mass.); Comaroff, Jean, and John Comaroff, (1991) Of Revelation and Revolution Vol. I Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa and (1997)Vol. II The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier (Chicago); Fiedler, Klaus (1994) The Story of Faith Missions from Hudson Taylor to the Present Day Africa (Oxford); Bickers, Robert A. and Rosemary Seton (eds.) (1996) Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues (London); Walls, Andrew (1996) The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith (New York).

[7]Flemming, Leslie A. (1986) "'New Roles For Old': Presbyterian Women Missionaries and Women's Education in North India, 1910-1903" *ICHR* 20, 127-142; Bays, Daniel H. (Ed.) (1996) Christianity in China From the Eighteenth Century to the Present (Stanford); Copley, Anthony (1997) Religions in Conflict: Cultural Conflict and Conversion in Late Colonial India (Delhi).

[8]Stanley, Brian (1990) The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (Leicester); Thorne, Susan Elizabeth (1999) Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth Century England (Stanford); Porter, Andrew N. (1991) "Margery Perham, Christian Missions and Indirect Rule" *JICH* 19, 83-99; Porter, Andrew N. (1992) "Religion and Empire: British Expansion in the Long Nineteenth-Century, 1780-1914" *JICH* 20; Porter, Andrew N. (1997) "'Cultural Imperialism' and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914" *JICH* 25(3), 367-391. The Position Papers generated by the North Atlantic Missiology Project (NAMP) Currents in World Christianity (CWC) are another important resource for literature on missions.

[9]Callaway, Helen (1987) Gender, Culture and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria (London); Stroebel, Margaret (1991) European Women and the Second British Empire (Bloomington); Ware, Vron (1992) Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and History (London); Foley, Timothy P. (ed.) (1995) Gender and Colonialism (Galway); Midgley, Clare (ed.) (1998) Gender and Imperialism (Manchester).

professional development. Advocates for women's increased role in missions argued that it was only distinctly feminine characteristics that could 'save the heathen', not only spiritually (evangelism) but also physically (social welfare). Reform campaigners gained public support for women's rights, specifically for widened access to further education and increased public roles, by promoting the idea that it was only western women who could help their foreign counterparts. These secular campaigners underlined the specific needs of foreign women for their own interests.[10] However, recent research has also indicated that neither the number of British women working in the Empire nor the professional opportunities afforded to them by doing so should be over-stated.[11] Friend's study of women's professional motivation and opportunity in late nineteenth-century Britain adds to this body of published work by underlining how important it is for historians to keep in mind religious belief when considering the reasons women entered professions and chose a career in missions. Rather than providing simply a romantic portrayal of fulfilled professional freedom, the history of professional bodies emphasises that women's labour in the Empire, and missions in particular, remained under-valued both in terms of remuneration and administrative advancement, until well into the twentieth century.

The records of mission societies are an invaluable resource for the study of the lives of their personnel, and any analysis of the class, nationality and educational background of both male and female candidates now builds on past scholarship.[12] However, this dissertation makes an important contribution to British social history in several respects. The data available on the group of individuals it examines offers discrete insights into

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[10]Burton, Antoinette (1994) Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915 (London).

[11]Friend, Elizabeth (1998) "Professional Women and the British Empire, 1880-1940" (University of Lancaster PhD thesis, Lancaster).

[12]Williams, C.P. (1976) "The Recruitment and Training of Overseas Missionaries in England Between 1850 and 1900, with Special Reference to the Records of the CMS, WMMS, LMS and the CIM", (University of Bristol PhD thesis, Bristol); Potter, Sarah (1974) "The Social Origins and Recruitment of English Protestant Missionaries in the Nineteenth Century" (University of London PhD thesis: London); Piggin, F. Stuart (1984) Making Evangelical Missionaries 1789-1858: The Social Background, Motives and Training of British Missionaries to India, (Abingdon); Williams, C.P. (1993) "'The Missing Link': The Recruitment of Women Missionaries in Some English Evangelical Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century" in Women and Missions Past and Present: Anthropological and Historical Perceptions (eds.) Bowie, Fiona, Deborah Kirkwood and Shirley Ardener) (Oxford), 43-69; Seton, Rosemary (1996) "'Open Doors for Female Labourers': Women Candidates of the London Missionary Society, 1875-1914" in Bickers and Seton Missionary Encounters, pp.50-69.

wider society, for example, in the Candidate Papers of the LMS. Beginning in the 1880s every candidate to the society was examined by a Society doctor. Candidates to the Scottish missions and the CIM provided medical material to their prospective employers as well, albeit in a much less systematic fashion. These records provide a useful insight into the British population, differing from most medical records in that these candidates were selected for medical examination on criteria other than ill-health.

In some ways, of course these candidates represent only a small segment of the British population. The individuals with which this study is concerned, and the women in particular, are representative of a fairly narrow band of the population. They were some of the relatively few women in Britain who had increasing access to further education at the end of the nineteenth century, and who played an active volunteer role in churches and secular works of social outreach. Even the CIM limited its recruitment to the middling-classes. Furthermore, the single most important distinguishing feature of this group is the evangelical commitment to spiritual and social uplift through mission work, and as such they should again be considered a select group. Nevertheless, their evangelical commitment was also present in that much wider body of mission supporters who 'made live' their faith in a less dramatic fashion. The records of mission societies contain valuable information about a wide range of individual religious beliefs difficult to ascertain elsewhere. Both in their applications and in later letters and reports, missionaries include descriptions of their spiritual state of mind and their religious response to their surroundings. A few earlier studies have looked at the ways in which middle-class women participated in Protestant church activities, and this dissertation explores further their motives for becoming involved in such philanthropic work. However, analysis of men's volunteerism has been thin.[13] This dissertation considers why this has been so. If men were as involved as were women in evangelical volunteer activities, why was this never recorded either at the time or by later scholars, as important to their personal and professional development? The answers to these questions, which are also examined below, offer further insights into both the social and religious history of the period.

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[13]Porter, Andrew N. (1976) "Cambridge, Keswick and Late Nineteenth Century Attitudes to Africa" *JICH* 5, 5-34; Prochaska, Frank (1980) Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England (Oxford); Gill, Sean (1994) Women and the Church of England From the Eighteenth Century to the Present (London).

The aim of this work is to provide the most comprehensive study of British Protestant mission women to date. While there is a growing body of literature mapping the experience of North American women in several religious societies,[14] and women's work in missions has featured in several collections of missionary studies,[15] no one study has taken a comparative approach to the role women played in the development of British missions during this seminal period. It is possible to chart significant differences between mission societies in terms of both personnel and administration. This indicates how important it is to go beyond studies of particular societies and stations in order to draw meaningful conclusions about the influence that notions of gender had on the mission movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The particular strength of this study is in its analysis of the language used by candidates to describe their religious beliefs and motivation. There are two major reasons for this. First, there exist very few sources for this type of writing about personal belief because ecclesiastical records are more likely to contain information on the administrative side of church life than personal spirituality, and there is a paucity of private papers of women. Further, analysis of the use of language can be an important tool, through which individuals can be seen as interacting in, and against, the social and religious forces which shaped their lives. This approach is particularly valuable in ascertaining how gender was instrumental in shaping the different ways in which male and female missionaries approached and described their work and personal life. Nineteenth-century British men were taught to apply the straightforward language of business to various situations, while women's writings reflect the complicated connections which defined their private and professional lives. However, this study indicates how evangelical revivals, the rise of the social gospel and the increased involvement of women in domestic church work and in the mission field, all influenced the professional approach of large institutionalised

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[14]Hunter, Jane (1984) The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China (New Haven); Hill, Patricia (1985) The World Their Household: The American Women's Foreign Missions Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920 (Ann Arbor); Grimshaw, Patricia (1989) Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii (Honolulu); Brouwer, Ruth Compton (1990) New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and Indian Missions, 1876-1914 (Toronto); Robert, Dana (1997) American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice, (Macon, Georgia).

[15] Bowie, *et al.*, Women and Missions; Bickers and Seton, Missionary Encounters; Huber, Mary Taylor and Nancy C. Lutkehaus (eds.) (1999) Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice (Ann Arbor).

missions. My attention to language as a way of understanding structures, and individual agency within those structures is the unifying principle in what is a wide-ranging and diverse treatment of the subject.

1.3 Archival Material

The main sources of research material used in this dissertation are mission records housed in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London (SOAS). Both the Council for World Missions (CWM) and the China Inland Mission (CIM) have deposited their archives at SOAS, where detailed catalogues attest to the depth and breadth of material available for mission research. Papers of the Scottish Presbyterian Societies are deposited in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Further research was carried out in Aberdeen at the Municipal and University Archives, at the Berkshire Record Office in Reading, and in the Medical Archives at the Wellcome Institute in London. In these collections, I made extensive use of the available material on mission candidates, and letters and reports from selected mission stations.

The LMS provides the bulk of the material for the part of my research dealing with candidates because the society kept detailed records on both successful and unsuccessful applicants. Of interest for this study, the LMS collected information on scholarly attainment, letters of reference and medical data on the wives or fiancées of male candidates who were married or intended to marry on application, as well as on the candidates themselves. These are filed along with the male applicant's material. Material on candidates is much less readily available for the CIM and the Presbyterian societies.

Material on CIM candidates has been gleaned from a variety of sources. SOAS contains the series of reports of the meetings of the CIM Councils which administered the mission in London and Shanghai - the London Council Minutes (LCM) and the China Council Minutes (CCM). In the first three decades of the mission the LCM describe meeting the candidates, receiving letters of reference, council decisions regarding individual candidates' training, and their departure details. The actual supporting documentation was not retained during several moves. The LCM and CCM can, however, be supplemented by material from several other sources. There exists a Register of Missionaries, which was

kept in China. Hudson Taylor's personal papers often refer to individual candidates, a compete run of the mission periodical, *China's Millions*, is available on reference at SOAS, and there are papers of a few individual missionaries in the archives. One source of frustration in dealing with the history of the CIM is the references to the field journals that the mission insisted its candidates and workers should maintain. Access to these sorts of documents would obviously provide rich detail, both about the way station life was organised and about the spiritual life of individual members of the mission, but, sadly, they have not survived. The same is true of the station reports and letters between Senior Missionaries, District Superintendents and the CC. Although the CIM was a younger and more loosely structured organisation than either the LMS or the Presbyterians, there existed an administrative structure in its sending countries and in China, and there were communication systems in place, which by the 1880s could have provided considerable detail about the mission had the letters and reports been retained and deposited.[16] There exists a vast library of mission literature inspired by CIM stories, but these must be accessed, with caution, since "the missionary letter reprinted and circulated....might be the product of several blue pens and publicity rewrites".[17]

The Scottish Presbyterian missions offer specific challenges. The missions of the Church of Scotland reflect its convoluted history of splitting and then reforming with different branches of newly formed Presbyterian Churches at various times during the second half of the nineteenth century. There simply were not enough women candidates, nor female workers in India to chart either any differences that may have existed between candidates to the Church of Scotland (CofS), the Free Church of Scotland (FCofS) and the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCofS), or developments in the work of each Presbyterian mission in the wider context of British missions. While a comparison of societies would make an interesting subject for a study limited to the Presbyterian missions, in this dissertation the Scottish Presbyterian missions are treated as practically synonymous. A caveat to this is that several of the LMS workers discussed following were, in fact, Scottish. Difficulties at times arose, due to the very 'Scottish' qualities (educational

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[16]For more detail see: Seton, Rosemary (2000) "The China Inland Mission: An Archivist's View" Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the AAS, 11 March 2000, San Diego.
[17] Bickers and Seton, Missionary Encounters, p.4.

attainment, theological rigour and practicality) which made these individuals attractive to the mission; these are pointed out in the chapters following. The Presbyterian propensity to form a committee to deal with any given matter is apparent in the myriad of (often short-lived) sub-committees whose records have been deposited in the NLS. Some minutes were more likely to have survived than others, and there exists a distinct gendered element to this reality. For example, minute books from one ladies' department contain a hand-written note tucked into the front, which explained how they came to be deposited in the NLS. The history of this minute book suggests yet another way in which women's records in particular have disappeared, and suggests there existed institutionalised diffidence towards women's committees in Scottish churches. The minute books were discovered in the home of a former secretary of the committee after her death, and were returned to the CofS by a relative who felt they were of no interest to the family. Comparatively, the Foreign Mission Committee (FMC) of the Church of Scotland was directly responsible to its governing body, the General Assembly (GA), and as such its paper appears to have been granted the respect due to ecclesiastical law documentation. It was on these formal documents that the authority of Church government rested and an almost complete series of this committee's minute books have been preserved.

An additional challenge meted out to a student of Scottish Presbyterian missions has to do with the fact that a good deal of material was not deposited at all. Original incoming reports and letters for given mission stations have survived for only short periods of time. However, many of the letter books and minute books of various secretaries and convenors of the Foreign Mission Committee (FMC) are available. Of the material that has survived, the bulk has to do far less with candidates or personnel than with finances, buildings, and often the corporate life of the church. Since women were largely excluded from these areas of church life, their alternative activities have not been documented in as much detail in these official records. This is in itself indicative of what was important in the church and mission - who was powerful and in what manner.

Beginning in 1795, the London based LMS Board of Directors managed affairs through a network of committees and letter writing which spanned the globe. Surviving documents record not only the domestic networks which managed recruitment, fund-raising, and the

transmission of information about mission work, but also the vital reports and letters exchanged by the mission between London and each geographical field of labour. These record not only the administrative details regarding work, but also more intimate details of the religious conviction behind a career, personal spiritual practices, and the joys and tragedies of family life in a foreign country. It is from these records that I have followed selected candidates through their careers in specific mission stations. As with the material on candidates, the LMS records offer a much more complete picture of station life than either the Scottish Presbyterians or the CIM.

The one CIM station for which there is a fair amount of material is the school the mission established by the mission for the children of its missionaries at Chefoo, in Shandong Province on the east coast of China. The school was first staffed in 1881, and represents the CIM's unique response to a need experienced by all Protestant missions: what to do with the off-spring of mission parents? Chefoo was the most institutional of the stations established by the CIM, which in part accounts for the amount of material which has survived about this quite specific site of the mission's work. The school has also been the subject of systematic documentation by former students, mission members and supporters, who have been keen to keep alive this small yet influential part of the CIM movement. The school is important to this study of gendered relations in the missionary movement for another reason. While Hudson Taylor established the CIM with the idea that single women could work and live in the same manner as male workers (as travelling evangelists) the mission could not escape from the gendered social expectations of western and Chinese societies. The bias placed on women being teachers and the large amount of domestic work performed at Chefoo led to a greater demand for female workers in that part of the mission. This was also a result of women taking longer to be integrated in inland China for the various reasons to be discussed below. Part of the Chefoo archive at SOAS consists of pictures which are evocative of the strongly western middle-class spirit of the school at Chefoo. They stand out against the better-known photos of CIM members in their non-western attire.

While the mission archives contain a wealth of institutional material the personal papers, from which this study could undoubtedly have benefited, are lacking. Further, while this is a study of British personnel, their work experience was in foreign countries and the

skills being developed were aimed at transmitting complex religious and cultural ideas across cultures. To some extent this point is lost in the consideration of the western side, and specifically, the western mission side, of the discussion. The small amount of material on the actual communities at the mission interface is telling in itself - very few missionaries really wrote about their relations with the individuals who constituted their local congregation. For the Scottish missions in Darjeeling, Sikkim and Bhutan, an earlier study focusing on the Nepali Diaspora provided me with additional insight into the local community the Scots' mission work addressed. The CIM school at Chefoo was aimed at the children of western expatriates. The school was rigidly segregated from the local Chinese community, a fact which is central to the story of the school and to explaining its role in wider CIM work. Finally, LMS work in the United Provinces represents an area where people demonstrated great "ability and skill....in accepting, rejecting or transforming the goods and services offered. Indeed, the people selected what they wanted and went their own way when they did not agree with the advice tendered".[18] The LMS Directors were well aware of the problems they faced in working with the religiously sophisticated citizens of Benares and Mirzapur, but never managed to provide an attractive service which pleased mission supporters at home as well.

1.4 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is structured around the individuals who implemented each society's policy between the 1860's and 1910. Initially a consideration is made of the candidates to each society. Because it was not possible to follow each of the great streams of candidates through their mission careers the study looks in detail at the individuals in specific geographic areas. Particular issues are highlighted in each of these. This in part reflects the reality of source material, but is also due to the suitability/relevance of certain subjects to one or another of the missions. The dissertation begins by looking at developments in mission policy generally in terms of the religious and societal pressures which shaped candidates. A discussion of each society's employment practices is complemented by a study of one mission field for each, so as to document how each society's administrative and employment practices evolved in response to both the characteristics of their recruits

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[18]Bowie *et al.*, Women and Missions, p.xix.

and the demands of the areas in which they were working. LMS stations in North India represent the failure of missions: all of the society's workers were pulled out of the area in the 1920s. The Scottish missions in Darjeeling exemplify the success of community-focused mission work, which resulted in a strong church community in the local Nepali Diaspora. The CIM school at Chefoo on the east coast of China illustrates that even in this mission which promised to revolutionise gendered mission roles, women continued to assist in, rather than lead, theological activities. Finally, the dissertation returns to Britain in order to look more closely at the professional development of mission personnel.

Chapter Two provides an in depth analysis of female candidates to the LMS, CIM and Scots Presbyterian missions. The administrative structure of each mission is set out, and the expectations of candidates are described as an expression of wider secular trends in the second half of the nineteenth century which saw middle-class women moving into professional employment, in roles shaped by notions of ladylike respectability and domestic responsibility. Candidates are next presented in detail, from numerous perspectives. They describe themselves, and, in a way that distances their applications from those of male candidates, they are described by their families and colleagues - parents, church leaders, volunteer supervisors and employers. LMS candidates form the largest portion of the women discussed in this section; however, candidates to the CIM and the Scottish missions illustrate important class and education differences resulting from geographic and denominational variety. CIM candidates were more likely to be of upper-working class families - they were not necessarily members of congregations nor did they volunteer in philanthropic activities, and so they were unlikely to be able to provide the references which spelled out the 'position' of women considered so necessary to the Scottish missions and the LMS. Differences are also highlighted between the education candidates had upon application - candidates to each of the three societies met the different expectations of their chosen employers. Finally, the training the missions themselves provided as a means of preparing their candidates is examined, with emphasis on the Scottish training homes set up in Edinburgh, since the individuals behind them also wrote the reports on mission education for the World Missionary Conference in 1910.

Chapter Three shifts attention to the LMS stations in what were the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) in North India. This chapter highlights some important

characteristics of the changeover from an all male, ordained mission, to one where these individuals were joined by single men and women with lay training. The mission experienced stress due to the indifference of the local population in Benares and Mirzapur. However, there was more local interest in stations where medical work was set up, and by local populations which can be described as 'marginal' to the local Hindu-dominated populace. The LMS missionaries were part of a process also observed in other mission stations in which the women's work, initiated by the wives and sisters of male missionaries, was transferred to the new single women in what was at times a fraught process.[19] The discussion over whether or not to hire the daughters of mission families underlines the tension between the social pressures for women to remain within family networks, and the increased opportunity to become educated and engage in independent work. The letters and reports written by both male and female mission personnel in the LMS UP stations are analysed in order to discover the ways in which gender determined their approaches to work and personal faith.

Chapter Four considers the work of the Scottish missions in the Eastern Himalayas, and in small part the hospital work at Sialkot in the Punjab. In contrast to the LMS, the Church of Scotland experienced relative 'success' in its Eastern Himalayan Mission (EHM), in terms of creating a sustainable Christian community and maintaining the interest and support of western supporters both amongst the expatriate community in India and throughout Great Britain.[20] The mission workers tended to be better trained than their colleagues in either the LMS or the CIM, both in terms of formal secular training and work experience. Furthermore, as a result of being raised in the Scottish Presbyterian tradition, there existed greater confluence between the expectations of the Presbyterian administrators, their workers and mission supporters than in other missions. From the outside the result was a mission that worked: LMS workers who visited Darjeeling were impressed by what they saw. However, on the inside the rigid administrative procedures of the Presbyterian church limited the freedom of workers to make decisions at the local

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[19]Haggis, Jane (1998) "Good wives and mother or dedicated workers: Contradictions of Domesticity in the Mission of Sisterhood, Travancore, South India" in: Maternities and Modernities: Colonial and Postcolonial Experiences in Asia and the Pacific (eds: Ram, K; Jolly, M.) (Cambridge).

[20]Peter Marshall tells me that as a young child he remembers helping his mother collect heather to be tied with ribbon and worn in button-holes, as a fund-raiser for the EHM (heather from England to remember a Scottish enterprise in India - truly a snapshot of the Empire in action).

level, and caused some to leave for other missions. In particular, the mission's conservative attitude towards money matters stands out when compared with other missions. It is suggestive of the theological difference amongst missions, and is one area which clearly divides the three organisations. Further, the Presbyterian belief in personal accountability influenced the manner in which their missions were administered and supported. Mission literature underlined the responsibility of supporters for specific projects, and the supporters in turn demanded a say in the hiring of personnel and decisions about the spending of money. It also affected the manner in which missionaries performed in the field: their formal academic focus was supplemented by leadership in non-academic study and [fun] extra-curricular groups. The arguments in this chapter benefit from a previous ethnographic study of the Christian community which was left in place amongst the Nepali Diaspora in the Eastern Himalayan region.[21] The importance of home structure and mission formation becomes evident when this mission is compared to the LMS work in Almora, a similar setting with a comparable constituency, which attracted adherents but was nevertheless transferred to other societies due to lack of interest in, and funding for, the work.

Chapter Five focuses on an unusual area of mission work: the children of the missionaries of the CIM. The Chefoo schools neatly illustrate several points about what was a large and complex organisation. To a degree, the CIM represents a successful fusion of the disparate social backgrounds and theological beliefs of its memberships. From the 1880s onward its administrative structure came to be dominated by individuals from a more narrow, respectably middle-class band of its western sending societies than is popularly recalled in mission literature. The reality of the mission was that women's roles were constrained by similar middle-class gendered ideas concerning 'correct' behaviour and evangelical purpose as those which shaped women's experience in other societies. The transmission of such gendered notions was one of the dominant characteristics of schooling at Chefoo. That the mission considered Chefoo as a site of valid evangelical labour further underlines its unique position as western, yet aloof from western secular society and other Christian missions, and still closely identifying itself with Asian culture,

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[21] Perry, Cindy L. (1994) "Expansion of Protestant Christianity Among the Nepali Diaspora" (University of Edinburgh PhD thesis, Edinburgh)

yet concerned to protect its offspring from Chinese influences. While this study set out to include the CIM in order to compare the social background of its candidates, what has emerged is an interesting consideration of how this rather late-starting, non-denominational mission differed from others particularly in terms of theological attitudes.

Chapter Six offers a synthesis of the material described in the previous chapters. It goes beyond discussing women missionaries in the context of social, religious and professional society. This final chapter questions the dynamics of the western male, middle-class mission workers and mission administration with whom women were required to function. The concept of the professional male missionary changed every bit as much as that of the female between 1865 and 1910. Male mission workers were often as unsure of their status as their female counterparts, a fact which underscored their need to protect themselves. On the surface the differences between the men and women are overwhelming. At this time the majority of the male candidates to the LMS and Scottish missions were middle-class, college-educated and ordained. CIM workers are celebrated as being of rough working class background, but this society quickly turned to candidates of respectable working or middle-class backgrounds as well. Men's applications stressed their advanced educational achievements; family relations were played down, and their religious statements were couched in formal ecclesiastical terms.

Chapter Two

"She is a Lady of Much Ability and Intelligence": the Selection and Training of Candidates

"She is a lady of much ability and intelligence, and likely to succeed well in learning the vernacular, and promises to become a good missionary provided she is under the influence of wise and devoted and spiritually minded colleagues".[1]

2.1 Introduction

The theme which runs through this study is the importance of the individual to the mission encounter. While this study seeks to generalise, the very process highlights the importance of the specific. Nationality, gender and religion provide useful categories to be applied to the missions which developed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. However, the chapters following indicate the important part that individual character and belief played in the development of a specific mission district, or even station. A complex interplay existed between these individuals both created by, and acting in reply to the many constituents of British society at the time. Each candidate negotiated a role in the family, the church, the mission and with individuals in the mission organisation, and with colleagues in the field. The very complexities of this have been overlooked by researchers, weakening both their analysis and their generalisations.

Gender is one category which is difficult to discuss in this manner. Men attended a few specific training institutions so that meaningful analysis can be done of how many candidates attended where, and learned what. Women, by contrast, attended a myriad of learning institutions teaching more or less academic subjects on almost any level. Because the professionalization of occupations deemed feminine lagged behind masculine disciplines,[2] even within a profession it was and is still difficult to assess the level of training. This meant that criteria other than academic excellence had to be used to assess female candidates. Rather than simply a hindrance, however, these very complications suggest new ways of understanding the complex interactions between society, the mission

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[1]CWM NI(UP)C 12/2/B J. Hewlett to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 10 December 1884.
[2]Friend, "Professional Women", p.9.

and both male and female candidates. This chapter presents a brief overview of the administrative structure of the LMS, the FMC of the Scots Presbyterians and the CIM; it discusses how each developed a recruitment strategy for women based on the evolving needs of the mission. It then focuses on the candidates themselves; how they represented themselves or were presented to the missions. Their applications and letters speak volumes about the role they played in families, churches and wider society. It is particularly notable that male candidates represented themselves by using, and were assessed on, entirely different criteria than were women. Class-based attitudes also influenced the selection process, and in this period each of these missions limited recruitment to "white" candidates.

Problems which developed in mission stations when candidates were put to work can often be traced back to inadequacies in what was a difficult task. The assertion that "one problem with missions is that they recruited candidates who would follow their directions rather than be forward dynamic leaders and thinkers",[3] is perhaps particularly true for women, but should be modified to allow for the fact that many missionaries in this period did work very independently, often to the chagrin of the Mission. Successful female candidates needed to meet complicated administrative and personal requirements in an evolving process which was never codified throughout the period under consideration. Their ability to express complex ideas and feelings to a number of audiences was perhaps what made a successful missionary, one who could communicate difficult messages to their co-workers, the mission, mission supporters, and their mission constituency.

2.2 Selecting Candidates

Several studies have documented how women's work in foreign missions represents a continuation of nineteenth-century women's efforts to increase their range of professional activity by participating in church activities through fund-raising and their work for social uplift.[4] Thus it must be emphasised that women's work in missions did not begin with the

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[3]Williams, "Recruitment and Training", p.335.
[4]Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy; Maughan, Steven (1995) "Regions Beyond and the National Church: Anglican Foreign Missions and Home Support in the High Imperial Era, 1870-1914", (Harvard University PhD thesis, Boston).

first female candidates in the second half of the nineteenth century, nor even with the wives and female relatives who accompanied their husbands to foreign lands in the first half of the century, but should properly include the myriad of women at home who taught Sunday School, attended meetings, and sewed and cooked and raised funds for home and foreign missions. Their actions have been described as happening in parallel to the more formal roles played by men in religious organisations,[5] and as such, are not recorded as completely in the official sources as are the male-dominated committees and work. This allows some interesting conclusions to be drawn about how and where women fit in nineteenth-century Britain, and specifically in Protestant religious missions. As an integral part of the religious landscape, missions provide a tangible record of the relationship between not only individual men and women, but also the institutions which dealt with each.

The official and non-official apparatus of Protestant non-conformist churches played a central role in the selection of female candidates to each of the three missions under study. The LMS, the FMC and the CIM all relied more or less on official church structures, and personal contacts made and maintained within those structures. In doing so, each mission followed roughly the same road. Initially wives were vetted alongside their husbands by the same Committee. Later, Ladies Committees were formed to deal with female candidates; the ladies involved were the female relatives of the men in the administration of the mission. In each mission the Ladies Committee encountered difficulties (often to do with funds and their control) which resulted in a re-examination of their position in relation to the main Committee, and which often resulted in their being reminded of their subservient position.[6] Finally, men's and women's recruitment and work began to be supervised together.

Throughout this process, several features of the administration of women's work need to

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[5]Small, A.H. (1944), St. Colm's College, (Edinburgh).

[6]See: Macdonald, Leslie Anne Orr (1995) "Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland c.1830-1930", (University of Edinburgh PhD thesis, Edinburgh); Haggis, Jane (1991) "Professional Ladies and Working Wives: Female Missionaries in the London Missionary Society and its South Travancore District, South India in the Nineteenth Century", (University of Manchester PhD thesis, Manchester); A similar process is described as having taken place in 1879 in the WMMS. See: Williams, "Missing Link", p.65. Canadian Presbyterian women had their wings similarly clipped by their General Assembly, Brouwer, New Women.

be highlighted. For each of these missions women's work always took place within an administrative structure created and dominated by men, and was always considered relative to men's work. Further, it is important to understand the diffuse structure of women's organisations. In each mission the central committee relied heavily on women to raise funds and awareness of the mission cause, to interest potential missionaries, and to comment on their ability. This latter point indicates just how important were familial and informal church ties alongside more formal ecclesiastical structures.

It has been shown elsewhere that women in the nineteenth century employed informal networks to organise support for themselves as individuals and for their institutional efforts.[7] However, this comparative study provides the evidence that in each mission these networks took on unique characteristics which become evident in the applications of candidates, in the letters supporting their application, and in the discussions which took place about them. Letters written by and in support of Scottish Presbyterian candidates are sparse, even curt. There is a real underlying sense that the writer and reader shared an understanding of what made a good candidate, and that it did not need to be spelled out, a reading of the Scottish papers supported by Leslie Macdonald's study of women in the Presbyterian church.[8] Ladies involved in the LMS appear to have inhabited much the same orbit as did those playing important roles in the Church of Scotland, although fewer of them were the female relatives of pastors than in the Scots case. More were the wives, sisters and daughters of the respectable businessmen so influential in Congregational Chapels in the nineteenth century.[9] A strong difference between the applications of these women, and those of the Scots is that the mostly Congregational women applying to the LMS, and their supporters, felt it necessary to spell out their commitment to chapel and community. For the Presbyterians, membership in the Kirk alone indicated a clear degree of commitment, whereas the diffuse structure of the Congregational network seems to have meant that the loose network of LMS supporters saw a need to make clear their understanding of faith and works. At least initially the CIM's support network appears to have been based on even more diffuse strands, initially centred around its founder,

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[7]Levine, Philippa (1990) Feminist Lives in Victorian England: Private Roles and Public Commitment (Oxford), pp.62-3.
[8]Macdonald, "Women and Presbyterianism".
[9]Thorne, Congregational Missions, p.19-21 and 93.

Hudson Taylor, and then as the mission grew, on more and more of his friends and colleagues. Taylor was forced to rely on solicited letters from personal acquaintances who could look into the character of a candidate, because unlike the Presbyterians or the LMS, many male as well as female CIM candidates were likely, at least in the early days, to have little education and were thus unlikely to be able to supply school references. Similarly, their wide variety of church backgrounds, or even lack of formal affiliation eliminated another source of reference.

2.2.1 Administration

The Ladies' Committees set up by the three missions in question derived authority from their position relative to men, both their male relatives, and the male dominated structure of authority of the Protestant churches on which the missions relied. The Ladies' Board of the London Missionary Society was set up in 1875 to examine and train women candidates and help to place them in their fields of work. It functioned until 1891 when it was replaced by a Ladies' Examination Committee, and women joined men on the Board of Directors. During its existence the Ladies' Committee primarily functioned by vetting and recommending a successful candidate to the Board. It did not have the authority to hire and place personnel independently. While their recommendations appear generally to have been accepted automatically, there were times, in an organisation dominated by familial and church social networks, when members of the Board strongly suggested the Ladies Committee give a certain candidate another look. As has been discussed in several studies,[10] any real power wielded by women was exercised within the male dominated religious structures, through diffuse fund-raising networks and mission auxiliaries. The women on the Ladies Committee had a difficult job balancing the needs of their workers, supporters, and the rest of the mission. This fact is illustrated by one illuminating letter from a member of the Leicester Auxiliary, after one of the Board of Directors denounced the school work their funds were supporting in China, and informed them, based on faulty information, that the manner in which they were allocating their funds was incorrect.

> Some of us felt that we were working at the wrong end and almost wished our efforts were directed to work nearer home, when we could

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[10]Hunter, Gospel of Gentility, p.84; Grimshaw, Paths of Duty, p.5; Brouwer, New Women, pp.35-51; Robert, American Women.

> really ascertain more clearly whether our efforts were expended in the right direction. Speaking so publicly of a shortcoming was most unwise....for if confidence in the administrative powers is shaken, interest is sure to flag.
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> I am sure, dear Miss Bennett, you must need great patience and wisdom in your office. I should not have you troubled by our little controversy, but we shall be glad to know where our money most wisely can be bestowed.[11]

These local women appear to have resented a man telling them how to send their funds and to what purpose. Their suggestion to the Ladies Committee that they might best reallocate funds for work closer to home where they could keep their eyes on it represented a very real threat to the work which could be done in the foreign mission field.

Although Scottish women were denied formal roles in ecclesiastical courts and Kirk sessions in Presbyterian Scotland, women extended their prescribed domestic roles to wider church society. This women's activity was institutionalised by the formation in 1887, of the Women's Guild, "to unite the women of Scotland.... for worship, fellowship, and service".[12] Women had taken an early interest in mission activity, with the first Ladies Auxiliary Society being formed in Lanark in 1821. These were followed by the establishment of nation-wide auxiliaries of the Church of Scotland's Women's Association for the Education of Females in India, beginning in 1837. Scottish women were also concerned with the welfare of returning missionaries and their children. The Ladies Mission Committee of the United Presbyterian Church was established in 1861 to look after the education of the children of missionaries, and a United Presbyterian Fund for Widows and Children was established in 1849. Each of these organisations conform to the notion of women working within the established boundaries of church order - focusing on domestic concerns, under the leadership of "ladies," the wives of relatives of influential church leaders, and under the control of the General Assembly.

This last point was brought home to the ladies early, by an exchange of letters between

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[11]CWM CP 1 37 no. 728 Miss E. Bear, Miss M. Chambers to Miss C. Bennett, 29 April 1881.
[12]Cameron, Nigel M de S; David F. Wright; David C. Lachman; Donald E. Meek (eds.) (1993) Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology (Edinburgh), p.882.

their Secretary and the Calcutta Corresponding Board regarding the disbursement of funds. It appeared that "the idea seemed to have been entertained that this Committee had assumed the standing of an independent body desirous of conducting the business of Female Missions of themselves and apart from the recognised organs of the Church."[13] The Ladies quickly concurred that they had been formed, under the auspices of the Foreign Mission Committee, only to collect funds and find agents, and recommend them to the General Assembly's Committee. "The Committee accordingly disclaims all idea of acting as an independent body, having hitherto conducted, and still being anxious to conduct, all their proceedings, under the council and direction of the General Assembly's Committee."[14] The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland did not fail to exercise its authority over their women's committees when the need arose. In 1879 an administrative altercation occurred in Calcutta between a male agent of the FMC (who in a letter to his attorney termed his employers "the blockheads in Edinburgh"),[15] and a woman working for the Women's Association. The result was that in 1883 the Ladies Committee ended up with a larger FMC presence on their board, because the General Assembly deemed them incapable of looking after their own affairs.[16] In 1910 relations between the two Boards were still problematic, with the General Assembly report for the year suggesting that a joint advisory body be appointed to see if there were any ways in which their relations might be improved.[17] The Women's Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church reported to the General Assembly directly, not through the Foreign Mission Committee. However, as the wives, daughters and sisters of prominent Edinburgh ministers and mission supporters, they were inextricably linked to the men's side of the business, and at times relied on them for the capital outlay for projects which became too much for the women alone. By 1910 the role of women in the field and their place on mission councils dominated mission affairs, and by 1929 the Women's committees were absorbed into the newly formed Mission Council of the re-united Church of Scotland.

While the Scottish churches and their missions had their administrative centre in

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[13]MS.Dep.298.29 WAFEI MB, 14 June 1841.
[14]MS.Dep.298.29 WAFEI MB, 21 June 1841.
[15]MS.7555 CofSFMC Private LB ff.151, J. Maclagan re: Hastie case, 24 September 1883.
[16]Macdonald, "Women and Presbyterianism", p.216.
[17]MS.Dep.298.15 CofSFMC Report to the Committee of Delegates to the WMC (1910) p.30.

Edinburgh, they differed from an organisation like the LMS in that regional branches wielded firm control over various areas of mission work.[18] Recruitment, however, was the exception. While one might therefore expect to read about candidates primarily from Edinburgh, with some from Glasgow and perhaps Aberdeen, in reality candidates were vetted and hired from all over Scotland. The ladies on the Women's Committees were largely from Edinburgh and to a lesser extent Glasgow, which created friction on occasion, but this appears to have reflected the demands of frequent meetings and head office work rather than systematic exclusion of women living outside Edinburgh. It seems quite sensible that those ladies would work in the capital while Presbyterial ladies worked their fund-raising magic in their home bases. The strength of the regional bodies reflects the strong lay element of the Presbyterian Church structure. While the occasional candidate applied from England (one a Quaker from Manchester) the majority were from Scotland - Perth, Blackenbury, Oban, Kileane and Dunoon represent a sample of the diversity. Aberdeen's Imperial connections[19] were reflected in their enthusiasm for mission activities which included raising the funds and hiring the staff for their own mission stations. Their relative strength and isolation led them to promote their mission projects as their own. In the end the Aberdeen sub-committees could not sustain their independence, but they struggled against losing their autonomy and becoming merely fund-raisers for the central committees.

Membership on the Ladies Council of the China Inland Mission, which was formally created in 1889, was again limited to women who were related to the men in charge of the Mission. Prior to this time the applications of women candidates had been dealt with by the entire committee, until the growth of the mission in the 1880s necessitated the normalisation of its procedures in its 'Principles and Practices'.[20] Even prior to the official creation of the Ladies Committee, the women active at the centre of the mission had been focusing on the women candidates. This function came to a head in 1888, over a

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[18]For an example, see below pp.148-149 and 153-4.
[19]MacKenzie, John M. (1993) "Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and Empire" *IHR* XV(4), pp.714-739. See also: Hargeaves, John D. (1981) Aberdeenshire to Africa: Northeast Scots and British Overseas Expansion (Aberdeen). For a discussion of the interplay between commercial and mission connections between the Glasgow region and Manchuria see: Bradley, John (2000) "The United Presbyterian Mission in the Far East (1860-1900): A Case Study in the Theory of Emplantation", East Asian Seminar, School of Oriental and African Studies, 17 May 2000.
[20]CIM/CP 74, London 1896.

difference of opinion on a specific candidate, with the result that the ladies' role was codified: members of the Howard family, the Taylors, Broomhalls and Mrs. Sharp were invited to act as

> fellow helpers of the London Council in the work of receiving and considering the applications of lady candidates for the mission work in China and more particularly to inquire into the character of candidates, to test their suitability, to decline such as appear unsuitable, and to recommend for acceptance by the London Council such as appear suitable.[21]

Throughout the 1890s the women continued to negotiate their role in the home affairs of the mission. In 1890, the Ladies planned to circulate an unapproved letter to secretaries of the YWCA,[22] and again in 1891 when they independently compiled information leaflets on their work, the Council reminded them that their position was one of support and to provide advice only.[23] Although they were in charge of the various small training homes for women, they were reminded that not only did the Council have to approve of all their decisions, but that the membership of the Ladies Committee needed the approval of both the London Council and of Hudson Taylor himself.[24] In turn, the Ladies balked when Hudson Taylor began to accept candidates from mission associations on the Continent, and this time the London Council supported their resolution that these women be accepted only when they had "remained at our Lady Candidates' Home a sufficient time for us to be thoroughly acquainted with them, and are then considered suitable for acceptance by our Ladies Council."[25] While interactions between the men and women in London consisted of pointedly worded skirmishes, they united against what they saw as infringements on their role of overseeing the selection of Candidates to work in China. However, in the case of any conflict, their views were ultimately subject to the wishes of Hudson Taylor.[26] Even with its stated commitment to women's work, the CIM was like other nineteenth-century missions in that women's administrative contributions began as roles defined and controlled in relation to their male relatives, who wielded ultimate control over the decision-making process. Although the CIM began with a commitment to

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[21]CIM/LCM 6, 16 December 1890.
[22]CIM/LCM 6, 2 June 1890.
[23]CIM/LCM 6, 4 August 1891.
[24]CIM/LCM 7, 7 June 1892.
[25]CIM/LCM 7, 30 January 1894.
[26]CIM/LCM 8, 15 February 1898.

using women as evangelists, this was quickly curtailed in the interest of effective operation when other missions, the British government and the wider public put pressure on the mission to conform more closely to contemporary middle-class ideas regarding what was acceptable behaviour for women.[27]

2.2.2 Valuable Qualities in a Candidate

The women in this study demonstrate how elastic the tags used to describe social conditions in history need be. Generally, for each of the missions in question, candidates being recruited were of the middle class or respectable working class. However, the range in expectations of candidates to the three missions indicate just how different were the economic and social realities, accomplishments and abilities such descriptors included. Certainly a candidate making a successful application to one mission would not necessarily have been successful with another, yet the reasons behind the decision to apply or accept are not always easily defined, since in the case of women, far more so than men, non-economic, symbolic indicators of boundaries[28] took on particular significance in defining their place in society. Nevertheless, the LMS directive that "education, culture and refinement" mattered, held equally true for the Scots Presbyterians and the CIM; they were simply interpreted in slightly different ways. Although missions created structured categories with which to assess female candidates, this section shows just how fluid were their judgements; all were subject to the difficulties inherent in defining qualities which described women in relation to family and society.[29] The LMS Candidates Papers provide the core material for this section. Where specific differences exist between the LMS case and the other missions, for example in level of education, these differences are noted making reference to the appropriate mission.

Women were assessed as to their religious commitment, their education, and their health.

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[27]LCM record a conversation "about the uneasy feeling about the mission which appears to prevail throughout the country, rumours of which arrive through one or another from time to time...." CIM/LCM 7, 1 March 1892. Broomhall also mentions occasions when Taylor was castigated by his own missionaries, and by the European press in China, for the mission's deployment of single women; quoted in: Williams, "Missing Link", p. 49; also see: Fiedler, Faith Missions, pp.299-303; Austin, Alvyn James (1996) "Pilgrims and Strangers: The China Inland Mission in Britain, the United States and China, 1865-1900", (University of York PhD thesis: North York, Ontario) p.161; and Robert, American Women, pp.204-5.

[28]Davidoff, Leonora (ed.) (1995) Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class (New York) p.251.

[29]Ibid., pp.242-3.

However, while the different missions asked similar questions of their applicants, each expected slightly different answers. These categories cannot be discussed separately since each impacted on the other, as will be illustrated by examples from individual applications. A candidate's religious motivation was gleaned from a personal statement by the candidate, as well as from letters supporting her application. Candidates to the LMS and the Presbyterian missions were expected to be regular church attendees who could produce letters of support from a minister or elder, who was expected to attest to the candidate's support of church-related philanthropic activities, the religious motivation of her family, and to their support for her mission endeavour. Neither the LMS nor the Scottish missions were interested in hiring workers who wished to escape family life, as attested to in this letter of reference written in 1888.

> She has a happy home and no motive for leaving it but the desire to do good; and her offer of service to the Society is made with the full approval of her parents... she is a graduate pupil-teacher in one of our board schools.... is of a happy, dutiful disposition and exceedingly good at teaching.[30]

These same letters might provide the only evidence of a candidates' work experience, particularly in the LMS whose candidates prior to 1900 were less likely than their counterparts in either the Presbyterian missions or the CIM to have worked for a wage. The Scottish candidates in this study were more highly educated than their LMS colleagues, and had professional work experience, mostly as teachers and nurses, but a few as trained doctors. At the other end of the scale, the working class candidates who applied to the CIM tended not to have been church workers. They did not provide letters of reference from ministers or family members, perhaps due to the mobility their working life required, because of their position as church attendees rather than church workers, and because of the dramatic nature of their religious conversion which may have isolated them from their original church community and family.[31] The jobs were seamstresses, clerical workers, governesses and occasionally factory workers. It was not until after the 1880s

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[30]CWM CP 1/27 no. 896 Euphemia Barclay, Reference from Ellen Harbey, 10 January 1888.

[31]CIM/LCM 6, 4 January 1888, after the death of Jessie Murray a series of letters were exchanged between the LC and her family's solicitor which detail her estrangement from the family on joining the mission; it took until 22 April 1891 for the CIM to agree to turn most of the money Jessie had left to the mission back to her family. In another case, LCM 9, 19 February 1901, the Woodroffe family wrote to the Foreign Office claiming compensation for the death of their son following the Boxer Uprising, against the wishes of the Society. See also: Austin, "Pilgrims and Strangers", p.60.

that the CIM began to attract educated workers of both genders.[32]

The missions also looked closely at candidates' age and health. In the LMS these two factors were the most frequently cited as reasons for not accepting candidates, and represented a very real concern, given the high rates of illness and death among missionaries. In their rules for missionaries the Free Church of Scotland listed health second only to spirituality; ".a sound mind is a sound body. A medical certificate is required for fitness for work in a tropical climate".[33] The health of LMS wives, ("in the case of ladies it is important to ascertain how far they are likely to prove equal to the demands of the married as well as the single state"[34]) was given almost as much importance as any consideration of their interest in, or ability to serve the mission as the wife of a missionary.

For each of the missions, candidates were considered to be in their prime between twenty-one and twenty-eight. If younger they were asked to wait and apply again, and if older they were turned away. Since "the best age for going to India is about twenty-five years, after the character and constitution are formed, and before either the power of languages and the capacity for acclimatisation are lost".[35] However, the applicants to the Scottish missions in this period tended to be older than those to the LMS, and CIM workers were, as a rule, younger than those applying to the other missions.[36] A candidate of almost any age was attractive if she was self-supporting. For example, the writer Charlotte Tucker, "strong and healthy", was hired by the CMS at thirty-two.[37] At times, however, it was the very independence of some of these older workers which caused problems for their

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[32]McKay, Moira Jane (1981) "Faith and Facts in the History of the China Inland Mission 1832-1905", (University of Aberdeen thesis, Aberdeen) p.106; CIM/86 Register of Missionaries.
[33]FCofS (1894) FC Rules for Missionaries 1894 (Edinburgh), p.44.
[34]CWM CP 1/32 no.1087 Victor Barradale, Medical Report of Miss A. Radbone. Mary Scharleib described Mabel Bullock as "apparently well fitted for the duties of the married state" in Ibid., 5 15 no.1168 M. Bulloch, Medical Report, 12 February 1902.
[35]FCofS (1894) FC Rules for Missionaries 1894 (Edinburgh), p.44.
[36]There simply does not exist the same amount of information about women candidates as has been collected for men. However some information can be inferred from the length of time candidates had spent in training and the percentage who were self-supporting (tended to be older). See: Williams, "Recruitment and Training", pp. 382-4; and Seton, "Open Doors", p.62.
[37]Giberne, Agnes (1895) A Life of A.L.O.E., (London).

sending missions.[38]

Candidates were asked to provide evidence that their health could withstand the "rigours" of a tropical climate. At first this evidence came in rather an *ad hoc* fashion. Family doctors, ministers, relatives, and the candidates themselves commented variously on their physical and mental well-being. Gradually each of the missions required that a doctor provide a medical certificate, which included the demand that they provide an interpretative commentary as to whether or not they considered the candidate capable of functioning in a foreign country with extreme weather. Medical considerations were often what would now be considered variable, non-medical criteria. In 1885 Dr. R Bennett, the LMS society doctor until 1892 and father of the head of the Ladies Committee, commented on the side of one application, "Dr. Miller does not know the patient well enough to give the sort of report that is needed".[39] Each of the missions eventually hired their own doctor to examine candidates. Yet even in 1887, although LMS expectations of a medical report had tightened, Alice Gill's report consisted of mainly descriptive text submitted by her father. He reported her mother having died at thirty-two, Alice having suffered from acute rheumatism fourteen years earlier, and that his daughter had been re-vaccinated twice. He continued,

> there is a fair amount of nervous power and energy of circulation as well as ordinary musculature development; but as her life hitherto has been very regular and free from strain, I can hardly judge how far she would prove able to endure fatigue or to resist an unfavourable climate. But, from all I know her, I should not think it right to expose her to any severe test.[40]

This father was clearly demonstrating his personal feelings when he said that the family would "rather she serve the Lord in the Home Ministry" in his report. His tone "I can

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[38]The CIM contained its share of "lone wolves" see: Cable, Mildred and Francesca French (1933) Something Happened (London) pp.31-37; and Hopkirk, Peter (1982) Trespassers on the Roof of the World (Oxford). In this study the agents in the LMS and Scottish missions who pushed the boundaries of conformity were not necessarily independent, but they did tend to be mature women like Louisa Meachen (CWM CP 11 10 no. 870, offer to Miss C. Bennett, 19 September 1884 and Agnes McMicking (Scottish, with medical training and a long-time LMS supporter). See: CWM CP 11 10 no. 748, Rev. J. Lowe to Miss C. Bennett, 13 July 1877.

[39]CWM CP 2/28 no. 842 William George Brockway, 12 December J. Risdon Bennett commenting on Dr F. Miller's Medical Report for Miss F. Abbey, 15 October 1885.

[40]CWM CP 6 13 no. 867 Alice Gill, Mr J. Gill, 29 April 1887.

hardly judge" suggests his annoyance at having to participate in the selection procedure at all and he fails to support his daughter's aspirations by suggesting she could not stand the strain.[41] Proving her father wrong, Alice died in 1945 at ninety, after a twenty-one year career in Almora.

Mary Jane Cockerton served the LMS in India for twelve years as a self-supporting missionary. In 1893 her medical certificate was completed by her sister, although it is not quite clear if it was considered a recommendation or not:

> as a child she was considered delicate, but since the age of fourteen she has enjoyed the average amount of health. I think she may be said to be more wiry than strong. I do not remember hearing of her suffering from any ailment in particular except indigestion some years back. We all as a family are thin and delicate looking, but are really stronger than we appear.[42]

Certainly by the turn of the century the mission doctors were favouring more robust candidates like Myfanwy Wood, who could walk "twenty-seven miles in a day".[43]This argument must be tempered, however. Mary Scharlieb served as the Society's examining physician from 1896 to 1909.[44] Along with Sophia Jex-Blake and others she was keen to bulwark the professional reputation of medical women. As well, Scharlieb was an active member of the Eugenics movement, advising that women's health and child-bearing capacity could be damaged by excessive vigorous physical exercise, and the daughters of the well-to-do who engaged in such activities would become boyish and lose interest in maternity, to the detriment of the British race.[45] For men there were none of those doubts regarding the benefits of sports and strength. Even with a goitre, Evan Rees was "a well

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[41]Ibid.
[42]CWM CP 3/29 no. 999 Mary Jane Cockerton, Mrs E. Arthy, 4 September 1893.
[43]CWM CP 43 5 no.1254, Myfanwy Wood Medical Report, 1 November 1906. quoted in Seton, "Open Doors", pp.50-69; also see Wood, Vanessa, "Uninvited Guest: Myfanwy Wood, Welsh Missionary in China 1908-1951", A Symposium on Welsh Women in Christian Mission, Gender in Empire and the Commonwealth Seminar, at Institute of Commonwealth Studies, 3 June 1999.
[44]She was also active in the campaign to reform the Dufferin Fund and establish a Women's Medical Service for India. See: Lal, Maneesha (1994) "The Politics of Gender and Medicine in Colonial India" *BHM* 68(1), 29-66.
[45]Scharlieb, Mary (1911), "Recreational Activities of Girls During Adolescence", *Child Study* 4, pp.9-14 quoted in Davin, Anna (1997) "Imperialism and Motherhood" in Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World (eds.) Cooper, Frederick and Ann Laura Stoler) (London) pp.87-151; WIHM.GC 190 2 1-15 and GC 190 1 1-18 Letters and testimonials Regarding H.J. and Dame Mary Scharlieb, 1890-1912.

developed man, a footballer,"[46] which apparently said it all in this period.[47]

The unhealthiness of the nineteenth century stands out both in applications and then in later records of the mission. Family histories record multiple deaths of siblings from measles, scarlet fever and other then common childhood illnesses. Tuberculosis was common in family after family, candidates' dental problems were often discussed, and digestive disorders also caused anxiety. In many cases it has to be wondered how the mission ever decided to send certain individuals. This is true for men as well as women, as can be seen by the application of one student who was "neither quite sound nor healthy, and he represents himself as having enjoyed fair health for some considerable time and been equal to moderate work. I see no reason why he should not continue in this state for years with due care in avoiding the disturbers and executors of the puerperal [sic] system.... engage him if much in want of labourers for a station that is known to be quite healthy and where the work is moderate."[48] There were many applications from medically problematic individuals, to all three missions. A Miss Gunn was described in unfavourable terms by a member of the Free Church WAFM; "personally I do not think we ought to consider this application. A bad nervous breakdown two years ago and a loss of memory would be very prejudicial to work in a tropical climate".[49] Edith Benham had a mother and brother who "tended to a neurotic tendency",[50] and Miss Linley was reported as "not right in her head".[51] The difficulties CIM workers experienced in China are described below, but their problems sometimes began even at the candidate stage. They accepted one candidate before realising that he had been under treatment for mental illness.[52] One of their male members had to be removed from their training home (where he was presumably resting while home on furlough) and admitted to a mental hospital.[53]

However unhealthy candidates might have been, their assessment remained murky. Even

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[46]CWM CP 31/3 no.1272 Evan Rees, Medical Report, 19 February 1909.
[47]Mangan, J.A. and James Walvin (eds.) (1987) Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1941 (Manchester).
[48]CWM CP 321 no.282 George Christie, Medical Report, 26 April 1829.
[49]MS.7985 UFCofSWMC Letters to and Concerning Candidates ff.71, 13 March 1922.
[50]CWM CP 1 40 no.907 Edith Benham, Medical Report, 14 November 1898.
[51]CWM CP 6/25 no.931 Clara Goode, Mrs M. Fletcher to Miss C. Bennett, 2 January 1888.
[52]CIM/LCM 6, 25 September 1889 accepted Mr Hardman; CIM/LCM 6, 29 October 1889 Mr B. Broomhall received a letter reporting on Mr Hardman's mental condition and the council postponed his acceptance.
[53]CIM/LCM 5, 16 March and 20 July 1886.

in the last two decades of the nineteenth century when the missions hired doctors to assess their candidates more rigorously, there was still latitude enough for questionable decisions to be made. Although Bennett recommended against the employment of Jessie Hewlett due to her lung infections and a family history of cancer (from which she herself died at 35), the Society bowed to pressure and hired this less than robust candidate.[54] Similarly, Annie Stephenson's application went unsupported by her doctor who said "her constitution could not bear the great strain" of studying, while pointing out that both parents had died early: one of mental illness and the other of tuberculosis. However, this candidate was irresistible because she was self-supporting.[55] For women, the frequently cited medical term which allowed health assessment to be manipulated, was the elusive 'constitution'. Even Mary Scharlieb recommended a candidate "as a good and trustworthy member of the profession", whose heart had been damaged by rheumatic fever as a child since "she stood up to the rigours of medical school just fine".[56]

Health was not the only quality on which candidates were assessed which could be interpreted in more than one way. Evidence that qualities which demarcated middle-class respectability counted for more than education, volunteer and work experience and even a solid statement of religious belief, appear as occasional comments about skin tone, accent and table manners, and pepper Committee Minutes and Candidate Papers. The records of certain candidates are particularly useful in understanding the full range of exactly what was taken into account when an applicant was under consideration.

Euphemia Barclay's application to the Ladies Committee took six years to process between 1883 and 1889, despite its apparent solidity.[57] When she first applied, she was described as an active member of her church, was healthy, had the support of her parents, and at eighteen had nearly completed her course as a pupil-teacher at a public school, but she was turned down be the LMS. Five years later, a delay "which has been a great trial of my faith", she had completed a teacher-training course at a respectable Edinburgh college, reported having attended the Free Church Training College where she participated in

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[54]CWM CP 7 31 no.572 Jessie Hewlett, comment on the side of her medical report, 19 September 1887.
[55]CWM CP 15 46 no.1020 Annie Stevenson, Medical Report, 4 October 1895.
[56]CWM CP 34 15 no.1173 Eleanor Shepheard, Medical Report, 13 December 1900.
[57]CWM CP 1 27 no. 896 Euphemia Barclay.

community works including serving Sunday morning free breakfast at a local charitable house and visiting Lodges, and she also taught in her church's Sunday School.

However, correspondence in 1887 indicated that local members of the LMS harboured reservations about her: "she did not strike me as being ineducated [sic] or unladylike, but Miss Harvey (in whose class she has been) spoke as if she feared her want of education might be against her".[58] This comment stands out since her education appears every bit as good as other candidates being hired by the Society, suggesting the possibility that education was being used as an excuse for something else. Despite their reservations, the London Committee had other reasons for continuing to consider her: "I think the Edinburgh friends thought her application had not been taken sufficient notice of, and I am very glad the matter is to come up at your next committee - as it is now a month ago since I saw her". The following July Miss Barclay travelled to London to meet an LMS supporter who reported her impressions to the Committee before Miss Barclay's formal interview with them. Sarah Dawson wrote favourably that "she is bright and practical with plenty of 'sanctified common sense' - ladylike, intelligent - and most thoroughly devoted - I think all you ladies would be pleased with her".[59] Still, however much the committee was predisposed towards this candidate due to the suggested problems with the Edinburgh Auxiliary, they continued to harbour misgivings about her. Although their reasons are never spelled out, some of their communications allude to a lack of economic stability which suggests that she came from the wrong sort of background. That this factored into the ladies' deliberations is suggested by the language employed by the Edinburgh LMS representative in her recommendation that the candidate was "not ineducated or unladylike" - a phrase which in the context of the letter suggests just the opposite.

Further evidence that the committee remained unsatisfied with Miss Barclay comes from the fact that she was required to fill in deficiencies in her education. In November 1888 she replied to the suggestion she take a sick-nursing course, indicating that it was not available in Edinburgh, and that she could not afford to do so in London. This was not her way of requesting mission money, as she stated firmly that she would not accept any

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[58] Ibid., Amy Foster to Miss C. Bennett, 17 December 1887.
[59] Sarah Dawson to Miss C. Bennett, 2 July 1888.

money either from her parents or the mission, and underlined that she "believes in independence." Again, despite their reservations, the ladies appear committed to giving her every opportunity to succeed, for June of the following year found her teaching and studying chemistry, science and physiology in order to get some medical background - a compromise which allowed her to remain in Edinburgh and presumably support her work. She was finally placed in a missionary post in Autumn 1889.

Another well-connected candidate, this time from Manchester, was vetted, and hired by the LMS to work in China in the early 1880s. Lillie Ashburner applied as a "lady candidate", specifically offering herself for Zenana or other Female Missions work. This was something the committee was not keen on, as can be seen in their reply to another headstrong candidate in 1881.... "so that there may be no misunderstanding we want you to clearly realise that, whether in school work or Zenana visitation teaching is the chief duty of a female missionary - the only difference between the two being that in the former you will have a larger number, and in the latter, a smaller number of pupils at a time".[60] This is patently not true. In the 1880s both candidates applying to be missionaries and the missions, worked within well-established assumptions about the type of work performed by different categories of women. Each was fully aware that not all women were equally qualified for all types of positions, and were demarcated from each other by name, "Biblewoman" versus "lady visitor", and remuneration.

Although Miss Ashburner was consistently described to the committee as the type of candidate who could work at Zenana visiting, there was something wrong with her. Her LMS Auxiliary interviewer described her as a young lady who "belongs to a family of the good old-fashioned sort. Her mother was a Sheldon and with the Sheldons the Moffats always stayed when they came to Manchester. They are also, I think, related to the family of Jonathan Lees from Lientsiu". This was confirmed by her father, whose letter of permission underlines his understanding of how important were connections.

This very knowledge of LMS affairs should have made Lillie a good candidate, if not necessarily a good missionary. Training undertaken prior to her application meant that she

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[60]CWM CP 8 6 no.780 Ellen Horton, Committee to Miss Horton, 5 July 1881.

had completed all the requirements Euphemia Barclay was subsequently asked to undertake, and meant her referees were of the right sort, and could say appropriate things about her. Thus, C. L. Ferris, principal of Ladies' High Schools, Higher Broughton, Manchester, attested she was

> thoroughly grounded in the ordinary branches of an English education and qualified to teach scripture and English History, French, elementary Latin and Mathematics. She holds a Certificate from the College of Preceptors, South Kensington, and an honours Certificate from Owen's College, Victoria University, and also studied at the Brunswick Street College for Women - she is one of a highly gifted family and has a very amiable disposition".[61]

This was confirmed by her tutor, A.W. Ward, a Fellow of Cambridge (his College is not noted), her examiner in English at the University of London, and her Professor of History at Owen's, who also deemed it prudent to point out that her uncle was D.R. Sheldon.

Her religious training, described by her mother, was also everything the mission might like. Upon application she had completed her Sunday School Teacher's certificate having passed "the art of teaching ", "Christian Indices" and "Scriptural Knowledge".[62] The Superintendent of Middle Class Schools, confirmed she had been connected with the Sunday Schools since her childhood. She had "by her loving and gentle spirit endeared herself to all who know her; the self-denying exertions which she has displayed have been unremitting. I have much pleasure in testifying to the earnestness and genuineness of her character and cannot but feel assured that a blessing will attend her in any deportment of labour her Master will call upon her to enter".[63] Her Richmond Congregational Church pastor confirmed her "regular attendance at church for six years is good proof of health, punctuality and devotedness" and also mentioned her relations. This time it is that her father is a deacon and her "mother one of the best Christian women he knows".[64] A final referee, this time a chapel Deacon confirmed "it is a small advantage that you come of a good old missionary living family and that by breeding and association you have been

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[61]CWM CP 1 14 no.832 Lillie Ashburner, Recommendation from C. Ferris, 12 December 1883.
[62]Ibid., Letter from Mrs Ashburner, 25 October 1884.
[63]Ibid., Recommendation from Jessie Bryant, 24 October 1884.
[64]Ibid., Recommendation from Rev. R. Craig, 25 October 1884.

trained to take a warm interest in missionary work".[65]

All this points towards a perfect application, but the Ladies Committee had reservations, expressed by Alice Hurry in February 1885. Lillie Ashburner was shy and should be sent "to a place where appearance and manner are not of importance.... she has been given no attribution whatever to music or singing. I have told her how extremely important this latter is, and she has promised to begin at once to take lessons".[66] So unlike male candidates where a strong personality coupled with family connections could assure a post, negative feminine attributes counted against this candidate. She was appointed to Amoy, where looks, apparently, didn't matter.

A final application in the 1880s was treated by the Ladies' Committee in a completely different manner, which helps to further illustrate the grey areas surrounding who was recruited for what work, and the increasing professional qualifications required by the missions. At the time of her initial application in 1886, Edith Nicholson appears to have had roughly the same family and church background as both Miss Barclay and Miss Ashburner. Her initial offer for service was as general as the others: "my own convictions have been fostered and strengthened by many earnest appeals for help and sympathy put forth at the various Missionary Societies which I have attended".[67] However the Committee found excuse after excuse to put her off. At nineteen she was considered too young to be applying. Two years later she wrote again, this time with the support of LMS supporters in Manchester, willing to pay for support and tuition for her to complete medical training at London School of Medicine for Women, still only twelve years old, and having gained her clinical experience at the Royal Free Hospital, only nine years after women were first admitted to the school's program.[68] Edith Nicholson must have had a better educational background than her modestly described "fair abilities and talents", but she also applied at the right time. Due to the influence of individuals such as Mary Scharlieb and pressure from its own mission constituents, the LMS was keen to hire

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[65]Ibid., Testimony, October 1884.
[66]Ibid., Report from Miss A. Hurry to Miss C. Bennett, 12 February 1885.
[67]CWM CP 12/25 no.998 Edith Lucy Nicholas, 24 September 1886.
[68]Ibid., Mrs J. Hawarthe to Miss C. Bennett, 17 September 1888. See also: Burton, Antoinette (1996) "'Contesting the Zenana': the Mission to Make 'Lady Doctors for India', 1874 - 1885" *JBS* 35(July 1996), 368-397.

qualified female doctors to staff its medical facilities in India, rather than relying on the variously trained ladies they had hired in the past. Thus, despite the necessity of borrowing from her father's benefits savings/scheme in order to pay her board, Miss Nicholson benefited from the evolving commitment that the mission hire fully trained medical ladies, and was able to complete a full course of medical school without financial aid from her parents. She eventually received a medal from the Government of India recognising her close to thirty years of work in North India. After her marriage to an LMS co-worker, in a turn around from what was the usual, he was transferred to be closer to her work.[69]

This section has described the framework of attitudes in which mission candidates were selected. It has shown that no matter how the selection process was codified to order to formalise the selection of candidates, the amorphous concepts which were so important in defining middle-class respectability at this time permeated the entire project. Fear of impermanence permeated the middle-classes in the nineteenth century, regardless of gender. However, the important function of maintaining symbolic indicators of position fell primarily to women. It was thus upon their knowledge of and ability to conform to society's markers that women candidates were judged in the selection process. Up until the end of the century the profession of mission continued to rely less on any sort of scientific consideration of the work to be done and the training necessary to impart an evangelical message. Instead, ladies selection committees in all three missions relied on contemporary notions of respectability which relied on shared assumptions of health and fitness, sensible good looks, what could be considered a well-rounded educational background, and respectable religiosity. The successful needed the skills to assess this system and fit into it, as pious and independent enough to attract attention, yet compliant and subservient enough as not to represent a threat. The following section assesses candidates against this criteria.

2.3 The Candidates Themselves

[69]Joyce was considered small and unhealthy and his parents both died young; his instructors thought it unlikely he would be able to work as a missionary, See: CWM CP 9 14 no.967 Rev. John Joyce.

The papers supporting the application process for missions are an important resource from which it is possible to glean information about the lives of British men and women. Although these were applications to a religious organisation, the types of questions asked of candidates, and information offered in them indicates just how intricate was the relationship between the sacred and the secular for these individuals. It is also very clear that the expectations of both the applicants and the missions were firmly based on middle class values. This is true not only of the LMS and the Scottish Presbyterian missions, but of the CIM as well. The Scottish missions offer evidence that ideas of nationhood influenced those both who applied and who was accepted to their foreign missions. While many studies of nineteenth-century culture and society have addressed gender and its role in society and emerging professionalism, few have focused particularly on the manner in which gender influenced belief, and affected the expression of religious belief.[70] Specifically, it is possible to see from these papers how candidates gave voice to conversion experiences and a "call to service". More generally, it becomes obvious how gender constructs delineated candidates in relation to their families, their churches, the mission, and in wider British society. There is an obvious difference between how men and women presented themselves and their faith, with women throughout this study more closely integrating faith and works. Towards the end of the nineteenth century male candidates also began to argue their faith in a less formal, more emotional manner than those of their predecessors; this is true of candidates applying to the LMS, is not as marked in the Scottish missions, and was demanded by the CIM.

2.3.1 The Social Background of Candidates

The information available about mission candidates provides a snapshot of nineteenth-century British life and as in any such picture, more detail appears on closer examination. While these individuals might be 'anybody', they are not. That working in missions opened a life of adventure and freedom to women has been over-emphasised. A recent

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[70]Morawiecki, Jennifer (1998) "'The Peculiar Mission of Womanhood': The Selection and Preparation of Women Missionaries of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, 1880-1929", (Sussex University DPhil thesis, Brighton) p.38. Perhaps more correctly many historians have been slow to integrate the studies of gender and faith which do exists into their analyses. For examples see: Levison, A. (1992) Wrestling With the Truth (New York); Gill, Women; Brown, C.G. and Jayne D. Stephenson (1992) "'Sprouting Wings?': Women and Religion in Scotland, c.1890-1950", in Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945, (eds.) Esther Breitenbach and Eleanor Gordon) (Edinburgh) 95-120.

study of women's education points out that most girls believed working with a mission society would be boring and constraining[71] and those who chose to, did so out of a strong religious vocation developed prior to making application. This vocation was the product of both secular and religious influences. Women played active and important roles as lay workers in various Protestant denominations throughout the nineteenth century. This had important implications for women's roles in missionary movements, and in some senses this is as much a study of men protecting the profession of religion as it is one of women creating a new profession for themselves. From the beginning, both men and women contributed to missions as to the domestic church. The 'feminization of missions'[72] does not merely describe an increase in the number of female mission workers. It reflects a widening of opportunities for women, as well as a change in mission focus. These shifts are explored here by looking at the manner in which individuals describe their beliefs and work. Initially, the wives and intended wives of candidates were introduced to the Directors by their husbands or intended spouses. They and the first single female applicants were also represented by the ministers or elders of their home church or chapel, and in letters from their parents. While in the LMS and CIM it was only male candidates who provided support from teachers and employers, the better educated women hired by the Scottish missions also relied on such documentation from the 1880s on. This attention to the manner in which women describe themselves underlines how women tended to use language to integrate emotion with the practical side of religion. This served as a challenge to the normative standards of men[73] and offered mission administrators valuable options as missions in the long term.

When single women began to be hired by missions, the most obvious group of women candidates were the relatives of either missionaries or ministers. Five of the approximately forty-five women sent to India by the CofS between 1901 and 1910 were children (often grandchildren as well) of the manse, indicating that this traditional pool of recruits persisted even after the turn of the century, and in the face of wider social change. This characteristic reflects other realities of church life - children of the manse were more likely to be the educated female leaders of lay church work, and thus had the knowledge

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[71]Friend, "Professional Women", p.191.
[72]Hunter, Gospel of Gentility, p.14.
[73]Davidoff, Worlds Between, p.232.

and skills necessary to be missionaries. They were more likely to marry at a later age and were thus able to apply as independent workers.[74] They were also a group who could expect the support of the families, which was not true for all applicants. Many candidates were the children of church elders, and this is an immediate signal as to their background in church work and acceptance of church discipline. Illustrating very nicely the widely shared and very matter-of-fact attitude towards church work and the place of religion in life, one candidate replied to the question "What experience have you in religious work?", "none, except what comes to any working member of a congregation".[75] Another mentioned almost as an aside that she had been teaching Sunday School since she was seventeen - this while training professionally and alongside family obligations.[76] These families were not necessarily financially secure, but they recognised the importance of buttressing their daughters' futures through education, which ensured their place in a society where respectable class position was determined not only by economics, but by social and cultural symbols as well.

Both male and female candidates indicate the central role played by families in the nineteenth century. Candidates were required to provide information as to whether or not their families knew and approved of their application, and whether or not anyone in their family was dependent upon them for their livelihood.[77] Male candidates were more likely to focus on the latter with a tersely worded yes or no, while the female candidates answered the former in far greater detail. This underlines the respective position held by the male and female candidates. While men tended to focus on power and authority and the financial dependence of their families, women underlined social relationships as the pattern of responsibility to the various members of their families. While they might not have supported their families directly through waged labour, they did have responsibilities as daughters, sisters and even more distantly as nieces or cousins.

It was common, for example, for applicants to both the LMS and the Scottish missions to delay their application because of family obligations such as the care of an ailing parent,

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[74] Macdonald, "Women and Presbyterianism", pp.232 and 429.
[75] MS.8001 UFCofS Letters to and Concerning Applicants ff.40, 1 July 1924.
[76] MS.7991 CofSWAFM Letters to and Concerning Applicants ff.46, 10 December 1900, Gertrude Campbell.
[77] MS.7992 CofSWAFM Letters to and Concerning Applicants ff.260, Application of Miss Tullo, 1897.

grandparent or aunt, or to raise their orphaned siblings. Examples of this are plentiful in both the LMS and the Presbyterian missions. In 1901 Margaret Agnew was forced to withdraw her application to the CofS WAFM due to her father's ill health;[78] Elizabeth Selkirk, a highly trained medical professional, delayed her departure to help her mother cope with the death of her father in 1900; and yet another candidate withdrew from college due to her mother's ill health.[79] Annie Small, who began a training home for female missionaries for the Presbyterian missions, had her widowed mother living with her at St. Colm's from 1900 until her mother was too ill to function in the community. Small then took leave in order to nurse her mother until she died in 1913.[80] In one sense these family ties undermined the value of women's work, but that they are so common sheds light on the realities of family life before state welfare. While the nineteenth-century family was constructed around kinship, ties focused on a male relative, men's financial independence was in fact uncertain and often reliant on the unwaged labour of their female relatives, who acted as servants and nurses in the family home. They in turn shored up the status of their family by doing so in an acceptable manner.

Very often a candidate's application was made possible by the death of a family member. Sometimes an inheritance released them from contributing to the family economy. More often the death or ill-health of heads of households led to destitution,[81] a fact which led charities to support children and widows, both in missions and wider society.[82] Mary Jane Cockerton was one applicant to the LMS for whom the death of an aunt freed her to take up a post. The existence of this aunt and her legacy made Miss Cockerton an attractive candidate, although she was a little old at thirty-one:

> the aunt with whom she lived and for whom she most devotedly cared till her recent death was a lady of means and of most devoted Christian character and she with her niece did much for Christ in many ways. She is self-supporting and is doing what she can to prepare herself at present by training for future service.[83]

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[78]MS.7991 CofSWAFM Letter to and Concerning Applicants, Margaret Agnew, 3 December 1901.
[79]MS.8006 UFCofS Records of WMC ff.60, Wm. Stevenson to A. Small.
[80]Wyon, Olive (1953), The Three Windows: The Story of Ann Hunter Small, (London), p.67.
[81]Webb, Sydney and Beatrice Webb (1910), English Poor Law Policy, (London), p.103 quoted in Davidoff, Worlds Between, p.90.
[82]MS.Dep.298.93 UPC Fund for the Widows and Children of Missionaries, 1850.
[83]CWM CP 3 29 no.999 M. Cockerton, Mrs S. Dawson to Mr A.N. Johnson, 26 July 1893.

At times this freedom was presented with some bitterness. In 1900, also at age thirty-one, Agnes Cunningham described herself as being freed to take up missionary work not only by the death of her mother, but also by her brother's coming of age and assuming the family business from his sibling, for which she, as a woman, was only allowed temporary responsibility.[84]

The hierarchical structure of nineteenth-century families is made very clear in various applications. Lillie Ashburner was university-educated, and a woman who appears to have been a very competent candidate and who received glowing recommendations from almost all her referees. In her October 1884 testimonial to the LMS she indicated how formal were her family relations, and the subservient position she held in relation to her father. When she initially planned to apply to the LMS her mother had held her back for several years, advising her

> to wait and see if the way should be opened for me, as we were afraid [this is crossed out] not sure my father would consent, so I could only wait and pray for guidance. After our *annual meeting*, my mother thought that perhaps she was wrong in keeping me back. She spoke to my father and when he saw that I was so anxious to go, he gave his consent. I enclose a letter from him. I feel that I can be spared from home as well as any, for though of course in a family, each member has his, or her own place, still we are eight, six of whom are girls.[85]

However, many women persisted in the application process even against the wishes of their parents. In 1882 Emily Blomfield said her parents "could not be reconciled to the thought of giving up their child and would scarcely hear the subject mentioned," but she went on to enjoy a twelve year career in North India. Her persistence in entering the mission field and later success can be put down to the mixture of qualities she was able to employ in an effort to manipulate the boundaries confining her. One referee described her "brave, strong spirit, amiability of disposition, winning manners and a large, loving heart wrought upon and sanctified by God's grace.... her deep spirituality and earnestness,

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[84]MS.7991 Letters to and About Candidates ff.175, Annie Campbell King, 28 November 1901.
[85]CWM CP 1 14 no.832 Lillie Ashburner, Testimony, October 1884.

combined with firmness and gentleness".[86] It was important to be strong, yet have the ability to look weak when necessary.

Although in this period the Scottish candidates were generally older and better educated than their LMS counterparts, on application they too mentioned parents' strong approval or disapproval. The Plumbe sisters, trained in Girton College, were sent to Calcutta to supervise the Girls' School despite their young ages and relative inexperience. They had their outfit paid for by their parents rather than the mission as was the norm. There is almost a sense that their outfit is a sort of trousseau, their family indicating approval by ritually dressing them for their next stage in life. At the turn of the century when female medical missionaries were in high demand, Elizabeth Selkirk refused to embark in the Autumn as required, in order to help her Mother cope with her father's death. It appears that her family having paid for her education placed her in a position of strength. She even refused to meet Wm. Stevenson, then Secretary of the WFMC, because she was too busy with her specialised medical training. This underlines the tension in these relations - Dr. Selkirk's education granted her authority, yet as with other women this remained strongly anchored in family ties.

In many ways the working-class women targeted by Hudson Taylor were free from some of the restrictions placed on women by elaborate family structures. Middle-class philanthropists described working-class lives in terms of danger; women in particular were described as subject to the dangers which resulted from mobility and poverty. However this reflects the anxiety of them being removed from what was considered their rightful place in a family. In reality both men and women exchanged the domestic control imposed on them by their own families for another system, to which they were tied not only by wages, but by the same gendered labour expectations based around another family circle.[87] The CIM guaranteed no wage to the members of the mission. For male candidates this undermined the myth of male financial independence, which in reality was subject to the frailties of good health and steady work. While the CIM purported to hire men and women on equal terms, their inability to attract male candidates in the numbers they might

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[86]CWM CP 2 9 no.342 Emily Blomfield, Recommendation from Mary McKeever, 10 December 1881.
[87]Davidoff, Worlds Between, p.21.

have liked underlined how widespread were gendered differences. Even female candidates who might have enjoyed some financial independence before joining the mission, could transfer their position in their own family to the CIM mission family with relative ease. With Hudson Taylor as the father figure in the mission, men not only lost financial independence, but also the esteem granted to them as the heads of their own family unit. Taylor controlled the marriage of members of the mission very closely, thus cementing mission ties in the manner of a family business.[88] This process of transferring familial allegiance to the mission was problematic for the families as can be seen in the various letters written to the mission from estranged families, particularly after the Boxer Uprising.[89]

After the turn of the century when female candidates submitted applications for themselves, they continued to do so on the authority of a male minister, and their files continued to include letters from a male member of the family (usually a father, but occasionally a brother or uncle). One unusually instructive application contains useful details about filial obligation. In 1900 Florence Syrett applied to the LMS to take charge of the Girls' Boarding and High School in Calcutta. It was a responsible position, for which she was professionally qualified, but to which she could not apply without support from her father, who strongly disapproved of her application. He described the Directors in the *Daily Chronicle* as "shrewd enough to stay at home themselves, while urging others to go abroad as missionaries," and described the society's proceedings as "Jesuitical".[90]

Miss Syrett was twenty-five at the time of her application and had graduated from Homerton College after studying education. However, her professional qualifications were secondary to her father's wishes. Two of her brothers wrote letters supporting the claims of the father. The family pointed to her health ("she is not constitutionally what she should be")[91] and her duty to look after the father who paid for her schooling.[92] Mr. Syrett even resorted to the racist argument that "higher" service did not consist of "teaching coloured children and she could serve the Master as well teaching English children as

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[88] Ibid., p.182.
[89] CIM/LCM 6, 4 January 1888, Murray family letters; LCM 9, 19 February 1901, Woodroffe family letters.
[90] *The Daily Chronicle*, 24 November 1899.
[91] CWM CP 38 4 no.1118 Florence Syrett, Mr C. and Mr H. Syrett to the Directors, 24 November 1899.
[92] Ibid., Mr W.S. Syrett to Mr Johnson, 9 August 1900.

foreigners".[93] Florence Syrett addressed the Women's Committee directly about her father's opposition, emphasising that they had never crossed paths previously. Her argument that she did so "out of a strong missionary purpose"[94] was noted in the letters exchanged between the Directors and the Ladies Committee regarding her case. Edith Bartlett was another candidate whose family actively attempted to influence her training, selection and placement. Her father wrote against her posting to Canning Town for experience on the grounds that her background and training prepared her for more lady-like work.[95] Miss Bartlett's father and the mission came to an agreement and she was posted to China, but only for three years. On the basis of her application alone, hers is one case where the committee might have been justified in rejecting her on the argument that the overprotection of her parents suggested Miss Bartlett might not have the ability to function independently in a foreign country. Even at a time when female candidates were professionally trained and had work experience comparable to their male counterparts, their applications had to acceptably blur their professional status and private obligations. Men set the rules, and the successful women applicants, even in the CIM, were those who might engage with, but work within those rules.

2.3.2 The Language of Commitment

While the bravery that Florence Syrett demonstrated by standing up to her father was dramatic, far more female candidates were less than sure about the qualities they had to offer to the business of mission. They expressed their faith in the simple terms of their Sunday School background, and quoted hymns rather than espousing the theological arguments employed by men. Many stressed feminine characteristics; they described themselves as gentle, caring and meek. Most were indecisive about their decision to join the mission cause, and uncertain that they might possess qualities which would make them good missionaries. However, these general statements must be qualified to allow for the change in how candidates presented themselves between 1880 and 1910 and the differences evident in candidates applying to each of the three missions.

Both the language candidates use to describe themselves, and the way they are described

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[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., Testimonial of Florence Syrett, 9 September 1900.
[95] CWM CP 1 35 no.1092 Edith Bartlett, Mr C. Bartlett to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 26 September 1898.

by others offer evidence about the complex relations British women found themselves negotiating at the end of the nineteenth century, and their resulting confusion and uncertainty. Rather than women's expanding opportunities representing an exciting opportunity, the language used by women in their applications is first of all, the language of their upbringing, being used appropriately in a conservative church setting. The examples that follow illustrate the range of candidates for whom this is true: the "lady" candidate of the 1880s with a smattering of education and a general call to service; the solidly middle class candidate, again in the 1880s, hired by the mission to be professionally trained and employed; and a candidate after the turn of the century, already university educated at the time of her application. Women employed the language of home and family life to present themselves as potential mission workers. This served as an introduction to what women continued to do in their mission work. The language employed by female candidates indicates their ability to apply their feminized knowledge and skills to a different environment. While the results were not always dramatic, this women's way of doing the business of missions influenced co-workers and persuaded the mission to institutionalise some of the more successful qualities women brought to mission work.

2.3.2.1 Candidates Described Themselves

Alice Gill's successful 1887 application typified the complex mixture of professional background and obedience to authority attractive to the Society:

> Probably my past training would point to teaching, as the occupation for which I am best fitted, but I should be ready to do anything I could...I do not wish to choose my sphere, though I have thought most of Madagascar, China and Japan and I would gladly labour for Christ in either of those countries.[96]

She also personified the successful female candidate, expected to excel in what formal training was available to women, but also in personal accomplishments. She was connected to the mission, with a letter of reference from one of the Directors, and was described as a "thoroughly educated English woman" who has been taught by "some of the best teachers in London", with a "very good knowledge of arithmetic, and she did well

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[96]CWM CP 6 13 no.867, Testimony of Alice Gill, 2 January 1884.

in languages, and also in drawing and painting. She is a capital needle woman, manages children happily, and has some instruction in hospital nursing. Family claims have hitherto restricted her exertions to make known the Saviour's love in the heathen lands".[97] Another referee found it worthwhile to mention her excellent sewing skills. Each of these references indicate how a successful lady candidate's application contained information on the professional and the personal, weighted equally. "She is far more gifted than most women of her age - while her great advantages - educationally and socially, have been carefully improved".[98] Edith Nicholas, the first female LMS candidate that the society trained in medicine, was quiet about her ability to exercise her "gifts, ability and above all the enthusiasm which God has entrusted to me by serving Him in this medical way".[99] To be accepted for medical training in the first decade the LSMW was in operation and to have had her training completely subsidised, her talent must have been formidable. In 1911 Jessie Williamson, a University of Aberdeen graduate with experience in training teachers, described herself simply as meeting the requirement that "a person who desires to be a missionary should be in good health, have a good education, and is possessed of some talent which can be of use in the mission field".[100] Her Master of Arts course included not only Philosophy, Botany, Chemistry and Physics, but also drawing and needlework; "she is a lady in her instincts and behaviour ...she is also musical".[101] Other women were described as having had "loving and gentle spirits," and as "self-denying";[102] "Regular attendance at church is good proof of health, punctuality and devotedness",[103] and live missionary relatives indicated a right call due to "breeding and association".[104] While it might be said that male candidates had connections, personal qualities and abilities which might have made them better or worse mission workers, these were not the focus of their applications. In contrast to the women, male applicants and their referees speak of their course results. In the LMS papers there appears to be only one reference to sports, and little weight appears to have been put on the few references to

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[97]Ibid., Recommendation by Rev. Uriyah Thomas, 22 February 1887. A letter from her brother, Rev. E Gill, explains the nature of the family claims. He wrote the Directors to say he would prefer she remain in England to work in the home church, 24 February 1887.
[98]Ibid., Recommendation from Minnie Martin, 22 February 1887.
[99]CWM CP 12 25 no.998, Testimony of Edith Lucy Nicholas, 12 September 1888.
[100]CWM CP 43 5 no.1297, Testimony of Jessie Williamson, 28 March 1911.
[101]CWM CP 43 5 no.1297, Alex Wills recommendation for Jessie Williamson, 27 May 1905.
[102]CWM CP 1 14 no.832 Lillie Ashburner, J. Bryant to Miss Tuck, 24 October 1884.
[103]Ibid., Rev. Robert Craig to Miss Tuck, 25 October 1884.
[104]Ibid., Church Deacon to Miss Tuck, 30 October 1884.

difficult temperaments; in fact, for men, awkwardness seems to have signalled the tenacity necessary to function successfully in the field.[105]

One woman, though a trained nurse, made a clear distinction between her ability to put her training to use in "doing good" and the work that a "real" missionary could do; "many are more fitted for the work than myself to fill this responsible post but I will gladly take it". [106] Even the well-educated women in the Scottish churches express doubt about their abilities.

> How was I best to bring the truth of the Gospel before these people? This question pursued me. Day and night it rose up before me. It was as if only now that I had fairly begun the work - that I fully realised its magnitude. How had I dared to take upon me such a task? I to bring the Gospel message to heathens - nay, to some of the chosen people of God! There were times when I stood aghast at my own boldness;.... it is often a comfort and a help in these hours of depression and self communing, to find that another has felt the same, and that it is no strange thing which is happening to us.[107]

This statement was published in a mission periodical. In this case the assumed humility of the author actually provides her with the authority to pursue a higher purpose. None could question her chosen vocation if she was directly under the authority of God.

The women in this study expressed their vocation in a variety of ways. Excesses of religious fervour were not necessarily welcomed by missions,[108] as the following examples illustrate. Although this candidate was finally accepted by the LMS, her application had been previously rejected by both the CMS who thought her odd, and the CIM for whom she was too old. Her minister indicated his concern about her understanding of missionary life by quoting her directly in his letter of reference:

> I think I have fully considered all the aspects of missionary life. There are some things not very agreeable, but I trust that just these things should loosen my affection more for earth and raise me nearer to God. If I go I

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[105]See below pp.101 and 233.
[106]MS.7991 CofSWAFM Applications ff.33, Miss Berry 23 April 1901.
[107]Q.120.per.1 CofS *HFMR* September 1877, pp.566-7.
[108]Piggin, Frederick S. (1974) "The Social Background, Motivation and Training of British Protestant Missionaries in the Nineteenth Missionary" (University of London PhD thesis, London) pp.65-6.

> shall have a life of danger, sometimes looked down upon by my own countrymen and despised by those to whom I go. Yet none of these things move me if God shall have me I will gladly bear all.[109]

Mary Harris was another candidate, whose witness expressed a dedication to service in a mission field without the excesses of personal feeling evident above. She was appointed to Hankow in 1892 and married in 1894, but resumed her work after her husband's death one month after their marriage. Her background included the wide range of influences so valuable to the LMS committees: a Christian home and a liberal education - Sunday School work, District Visiting, Band of Hope, as well as five years at "Miss Fletcher's school where she studied French, German and Latin and then a year at a school in Germany." She expressed her faith in a simple, straightforward manner.

> I know I am a true Christian because, out of thankfulness for what Jesus Christ has done for me, and am chiefly happy when doing something for others for his sake. Also because I know something of what it is to be "Led by the spirit of God," and like to be with those, who also love Him. I cannot tell you of any memorable circumstances connected with my first religious impressions. My spiritual growth has been very gradual, my chief helper has been my sister Bessie. I think that since the Keswick Convention 1890 I have not only been happier and stronger spiritually but more in earnest and useful.[110]

This statement of her religious beliefs was followed by an expression of her practical understanding of the life and work of a missionary.

> A female missionary should, I think, be full of love of Christ, and love to those amoung whom she has to work. She should have a good knowledge of the Bible, (the more the better) and good health. She should be bright, kind, energetic and practical. She should have had some experience of housekeeping and if possible of teaching children. It would be a great help to be able to sing and play and to know some foreign language. I imagine, the ignorance of the people, their superstition, and uncleanly habits, and the difficulty of understanding their thoughts must be great trials, and it must be hard sometimes to keep on loving them.[111]

Applicants expressed a faith very centred in the New Testament, and focused on the good

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[109]CWM CP 1 12 no.964 Emogene Ardill, Rev. J. Weilcham to Ladies Committee, 22 September 1891.
[110]CWM CP 7 8 no.954, Testimony of Mary Harris, 20 February 1892.
[111]Ibid.

works performed by Christ as an example for their own lives. In 1883 Euphemia Barclay, a pupil-teacher from Edinburgh, began her six year application process. She described her heart being "drawn to Foreign Lands to raise the hearts and minds of the poor heathen by Education, thus opening the way for simple truths contained in the Gospel, - to tell them of their souls and a Saviour who has come to save them from death".[112] Other women used the words of hymns to express their faith background. The maudlin "I know my Redeemer Liveth" written by Annie Campbell King in 1901 illustrated the importance singing played in lay religious movements at this time. The ability to sing was important for female candidates of both the LMS and the Presbyterians, since singing was supposed to be one of the more effective means by which women could teach in the mission field. Singing has also been pointed out as particularly important in evangelical camp meetings, where the emphasis put on emotion and the centrality of lay involvement in church life at the end of the century attracted women, who either supplemented or replaced regular church attendance by their involvement in non-denominational revival movements.[113]

The women whose applications have survived in the Scottish archives are of two types neither of which appear to have been swept away in a tide of religious fervour. The first was relatively staid and expressed their call to the mission field as part of their faith journey - they wrote about the religious experience in terms of Grace. This manner of expression stands out against the second group who, in a manner more akin to their LMS colleagues, expressed a general desire to do good, but phrased this in the racial terms of mission work. The language they employed differs from the dramatic "re-born/filled with holiness/holiness-inspired" stories popular in CIM autobiographies.

However, both types of women applying to the Scottish missions generally express their faith in a very practical fashion. "I do not remember the time when I was not a Christian, but growing faith and growing experience have brought me to a fuller knowledge of what it means to have Jesus for my personal Saviour".[114] In this sample, Scottish candidates applying to the Free Church reflect its image of having been created from the principled

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[112]CWM CP 1/27 no.896, Testimony of Euphemia Barclay, 22 January 1883.
[113]Macdonald, "Women and Presbyterianism", p.509.
[114]MS.Dep298.96 LZMC Glasgow (North) of the UPC Minutes of the Committee, discussion of Miss Masterton, 31 October 1899.

poor.[115] While still respectable church-goers, these women suggest/acknowledge their lower social position by emphasising their submission to the committee. Free Church candidates accepted the expectation that they employ language which demonstrated their obedience to a higher will than their own, as well as proper deference to the Committee; "I now feel constrained to offer my services, believing that God has a work for me in the foreign Mission field, He will guide the members of this Mission Board to appoint me to the right sphere of labour".[116] In 1893 the Committee members chastised Miss Gow for the lack of spirituality in her letters. She responded by speaking "of the past in the fuller light of duty and consecration which she had received while attending the meetings of the last Keswick Convention".[117] At the time of her application in 1895 Miss Littlejohn was studying at the Deaconess Training Home. She had "read the life of Dr. J. Paton and when I saw the power of the Gospel to change the hearts and lives of those cannibals I thought, if it is God's will to send me, I would like to go and tell the heathen about it".[118] Miss Isabella Binnie, a nursing applicant to the mission four years later, described her mission call as her "heart being drawn in pity to the heathen" and that "it has been my earnest prayer that God would make plain my duty in regard to foreign mission service.... if our Heavenly Father opens up the way for me to enter the missionary field, He will fill me with his Holy Spirit so that I may be fit to be used by Him".[119] The committee obviously appreciated this application since her letter was quoted in the Minutes in great detail. The committee evidently appreciated what they describe as the evident spirit of subjugation they have asked ministers to teach to young girls in the past.[120] A complex theology is simply not necessary for female candidates. In 1901 Winifred Plumbe described herself as having been "interested in missionary work all my life - Bible classes, Christian Endeavour and President of British College Christian Union",[121] and that was good enough for this committee.

The better educated and more solidly middle class candidates who applied to the Church

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[115]Brown, Stewart J. and Michael Fry (eds.) (1993) Scotland in the Age of Disruption (Edinburgh).
[116]MS.7991 CofSWAFM Applications ff.169, Annie Campbell King to Committee, 28 November 1901.
[117]MS.Dep.298.98 MB of the UPCLZM Conference Committee, Miss Gow, 20 July 1893.
[118]MS.Dep.298.99 MB of the UPCLZM Conference Committee, Miss Littlejohn, 11 April 1895.
[119]MS.Dep.298.101 MB of the UPCLZM Conference Committee, Miss I. Binnie, 23 November 1899.
[120]MS.Dep.298.97-101 UPCLZM Committee of "Seven" MB, 23 November 1899.
[121]MS.7992 CofSWAFM Applications ff.111, Winifred Plumbe to Committee, 11 July 1901.

of Scotland are an interesting group. Their evangelical enthusiasm was restrained, and they focused instead on the professional qualifications they brought to the mission. In fact in some senses it is easier to detail the training of these individuals than to talk about their religious beliefs. This is because where LMS applications often began with a general offer to mission service, in Church of Scotland applications offers were linked to practical inquiries as to what training and background would be necessary for the mission task. This speaks to the expectation that individuals who were leaders in the Presbyterian tradition be adequately equipped. These applicants understood that they were offering to take up positions of authority in the mission, and their language suggests an understanding of the need for adequate training in order to do so in a credible fashion. They also wrote in a manner which suggests they expected to be treated as responsible leaders. At a time when the mission was constantly complaining about a lack of applicants, this select group of Scottish graduates with work experience corresponded with the committee as social equals. Certain of the medical and Oxbridge-educated women were obviously considered highly desirable as "Girtonians are not to be had every day",[122] and the Committee quite readily accepted Elizabeth Selkirk's setting of conditions during her application process, since she reminded them it was "her people" and not the Church who had paid for her training.[123] In 1900 another candidate described herself as responding to an advertisement with uncertainty. She had "heard of the Lovedale job and I have been trying to decide if I should go or not". With no reference to a 'call' the secular tone of this letter would have horrified the candidate committees of the LMS and certainly the CIM.[124] These women were hired by the FMC which shows the WA and the Committee shared similar attitudes towards faith and training which these candidates had no need to reiterate.

Occasionally the applications of men, such as Robert Ashton and George Brockway, demonstrated the same ambiguities in background and purpose that were more common in women's applications of the past. Brockway said he could not "say that I have ever had any special call to it, but for some time past the desire for it has been growing stronger and stronger in me, and this coupled with my father's wish and your constant appeals to young men to come forward has induced me to offer myself as a worker for Christ in

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[122]Ibid., ff.115 Winifred Plumbe, 1901.
[123]Ibid., ff.116 and ff.170. Elizabeth Selkirk, 1901.
[124]MS.7992 CofSWAFM Applications ff.180, Miss G. Walker to Committee, 4 December 1900.

heathen lands". His instructors agreed: "he feels it and believes it but could not argue for it in a theoretical fashion".[125] Robert J. Ashton's 1891 application stands in direct contrast to women's applications at the same time. Although he married his private passions to his profession, he was much more aggressive about doing so than any woman would or could have been. The majority of University-trained women stressed how they had to repress doubt in their abilities, and underline their reliance on family, the Church and God, forcing themselves to do what they see as their duty. In this context, it is astounding to encounter the near bullying behaviour of Robert Ashton. His poor academic performance and inability to get along with his fellow students at the Edinburgh Medical School, compounded by his demand that he be allowed to marry prior to his appointment, was answered by the Society sending him to North India where he continued to bully the LMS for support of his new medical outstation established in Kachwa in 1893. This episode demonstrates how such confident, aggressive behaviour was acceptable in nineteenth-century mission circles for men as contrasted with women's applications that demonstrate their need to carefully negotiate specific theological, national and class boundaries.

2.3.2.2 Candidates Described by Others

The letters of support women provided with their applications aptly illustrate how complex were the relationships they operated within. Their merits needed to be assessed in a different manner than were male applicants, since a woman's family background and social standing were considered to provide the information essential to her selection as a missionary. Again, specific differences can be noted among applications to the three missions in question, which indicate both that candidates applying to the missions came from different backgrounds, and that the missions themselves had varied expectations.

The first group of women who appear in applications and are considered here were the wives and fiancées of male missionaries applying to the London Missionary Society. More than for other missions and for women applying on their own merits, these women were introduced by their partners who were asked to provide detail about their church involvement. They were required to undergo a physical examination to prove their fitness

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[125]CWM CP 2/28 no.842 W.G. Brockway, Reports from Tutors at Catford Collegiate School, 30 October 1879.

for mission life, and slightly oddly, this is often the most definite evidence of their existence. As a rule their presence was strictly subordinate to their partners.

Unlike some missions, the LMS did not arrange marriages,[126] yet discussions about its missionaries choosing partners illustrate just how important it was to the LMS that its missionaries married appropriately. The selection of partners like William Beynon's "female which I have in view to take out with me"[127] is described in very business-like terms, and appears to have been carried out in a like manner, in a way turning on its head the whole concept of 'fishing fleets'.[128] As Patricia Grimshaw described in her study of missionaries applying to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,[129] it is clear that for missionaries applying to the LMS, their missionary calling had a direct influence on who they fell in love with, and the way that relationship was described.

Thomas Biggins made this quite clear in his application to the mission in 1899, as he introduced his fiancée who was taking a three year nursing course at the London Temperance Hospital: "it is for her influence on my life as a Christian that I first came to love her".[130] For this nineteenth-century evangelical, romantic love involved a practical evaluation of his partner's status as a Christian. As an applicant Edward Greaves described embarking on marriage "not without thought and prayer for divine guidance, and I have endeavoured to seek not only my own happiness in a narrower sense, but to have especial regard to the missionary aspect of the question".[131] Although he expressed misgivings, he agreed to go to India for two years before Miss Samson, "subordinating personal feelings to what I conceive to be a desire to work in that part of the vineyard towards which God is drawing me".[132]

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[126]Predelli, Line Nyhagen (1998) "Contested Patriarchy and Missionary Feminism: The Norwegian Missionary Society in Nineteenth Century Norway and Madagascar" (University of South California Ph.D thesis, Los Angeles).
[127]CWM CP 1 47 no.246 Thomas Beynon, 6 January 1825.
[128]Thorne, Susan (1999) "Missionary-Imperial Feminism" in Huber and Lutkehaus, Gendered Missions, 39-67. Also see Tosh, John (1995) "From Keighley to St.-Denis: Separation and Intimacy in Victorian Bourgeois Marriage" *HWJ* 40(Autumn 1995) 193-206 for a discussion of the language one mid-19C British couple used to discuss their relationship.
[129]Grimshaw, Paths of Duty, pp.9-12.
[130]CWM CP 2 1 no.1091 Thomas Biggin about Elsie Kemp, 13 July 1895.
[131]CWM CP 6 32 no.777 Edwin Greaves, 15 September 1880.
[132]Ibid., 23 October 1880.

Wives and fiancées were presented to the committee and assessed with respect to their physical health and spiritual suitability. Richard Baron's fiancée was described in typical fashion, first by her doctor who certified her, "in every respect in good health and also.... of a good constitution", and then by her minister who reported,

> she has been an earnest and zealous Sabbath School teacher and has much considerable aptitude for teaching. I believe her to be a devoted Christian young lady possessed of considerable intelligence and with a burning desire to do good. From the first of my hearing of Mr. Baron's application to be sent out as a missionary I have felt convinced that he could not have selected a more suitable person for discharging the duties of a missionary's wife than Miss Willey.[133]

In the LMS missionary wives were described in a very subordinate manner to their husbands. One application written in 1847 stands out as a very rare exception. When Rev. Josiah Andrews re-applied to the mission after an absence due to illness, he offered both his and his wife's services to the mission field. He expressed this offer in terms of it being his duty to do so, and that his wife feels the same. Although Andrews would be the paid missionary, he referred to himself and his wife as a team and to his partner's beliefs and wishes often:

> we both feel fully convinced we should again seek to enter upon the missionary work. We have, I think, made it a matter of earnest prayer, and sought divine guidance, and have, upon mature consideration, come to the conclusion, that it is our duty, to dedicate our services, yea our lives, to the missionary cause....we have no desire for any particular sphere of labour, but would be willing to go to any part, or at any time, where we could be usefully employed in the promotion of the Glory of God.[134]

Although many missionaries shared a close relationship with successive Foreign Secretaries, when they announced an impending marriage utility is emphasised over romance. James Kennedy's announcement in 1840 that he had married Miss Walker, the sister of Mrs. Buyers, emphasised that she was "usefully employed by collecting around her some native girls and educating them", possessed good language skills and that he had "been given a good helpmate [sic]".[135]

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[133]CWM CP 1 31 no.690 Richard Baron, Testimony of Rev. J. Piele, 30 May 1870.
[134]CWM CP 1 11 no.485 Testimony of Josiah Andrews, 23 February 1847.
[135]CWM NI(UP)R 2 2 A J. Kennedy to A. Tidman, 9 May 1840.

The application of Frederick Baylis offers further evidence of similar attitudes. His marriage partner was very much a subject of the application, but never an active participant. Miss White is described by the many men in her life - her husband introduces her existence to the Candidates' Committee in his answers to their question regarding his marriage or engagement: "I am not married, but I am engaged to one, who is willing and anxious to engage in the work with me and whom I believe from her piety and education and from being accustomed to teach others, to be well qualified for the work".[136] A Mr. Ball provides a testimonial for Miss White:

> as regards the Christian character and zeal in the cause of God. She is now engaged as a Sabbath School teacher. She tends my weekly Bible class and manifests a spirit of inquiry that shows she is very anxious to profit by all the knowledge that I am able to communicate. I find her quite willing to assist in everything that is likely to promote the moral and religious interests of this neighbourhood. She has now under the training of the Female houitois [sic] of our British School. As far as I judge I think her a suitable person for a missionary's wife.[137]

The family doctor provided the necessary coldly clinical and vague 'OK': ".... I can discover no signs nor symptoms that would lead me to believe that she is suffering from any disease, I perceive no objection to her residing in a hot climate",[138] although in a later letter Baylis himself suggested the warm weather would be good for that oft mentioned but elusive thing, her constitution. Baylis felt constrained, it would appear by his father-in-law, to write to the Directors as his application proceeded.

> You mentioned India as my probable destination. I have heard that missionaries are not generally sent there married. I shall be glad to know what has been the intention of the Directors in any case. I was engaged to before I was connected to the Society and certainly expected that when I did go out it would be married. If I go out unmarried, I shall have to remain so as my intended partner will not consent to follow me, nor do I feel that I could urge it as her father and the whole family decidedly object to it.[139]

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[136]CWM CP 1 36 no.506 Frank Baylis, Testimony, 9 November 1847.
[137]Ibid., Mr. I. Ball, 12 November 1847.
[138]Ibid., G. Jones, Medical Report for Miss White, 13 November 1847.
[139]Ibid., Frank Baylis to A. Tidman 13 November 1847.

Later, after hearing he was definitely to be sent to India within the year he added,

> Mr. White since has heard of the decision of the Board as to my going out, has written to me, requesting me to let him know whether the Directors will be willing for me to go out married. It is important that the question should not remain open, from the circumstances in which he is placed [the family is in Spain]. She might end up coming back to England to see after her outfit and embarkation without them. I do not think she is equal to all this, nor do I think that her father will ever agree to following in such circumstances. He is very much opposed to it now.[140]

This application clearly indicates the patriarchal lines of communication and control. Miss White obviously led a dynamic life outside the family circle - teaching, attending Bible Study and College - yet her status was strictly regulated by her father and husband-to-be.

Throughout the nineteenth century the missions viewed the marriage of their male missionaries differently from their female workers. In part this resulted from women's own reliance on concepts of 'women's work' which served to reinforce divisions between home and professional labour. While members of the various missions expressed concerns regarding the suitability, and health and safety of an intended partner, it was desirable that male candidates marry someone who could both help them in their work, and protect then from the sexual dangers to which they were exposed in the mission field.[141] When the close attention each mission paid to choosing partners of missionaries is placed alongside their reaction to the marriage of a female missionary, it serves to illustrate the ambivalence of both missions and wider society, towards the worth of women's work. The wives of missionaries were vetted and then portrayed as essential to the mission purpose,[142] yet the Ladies Committees of both the LMS and the Scottish missions recorded their frustration at what they saw as all their efforts in training and sending out women being "wasted" if they got married.[143] Many of the female

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[140]Ibid., 15 April 1850.
[141]Bawden, C.R. (1985) Shamans, Lamas and Evangelicals: The English Missionaries in Siberia (London); Nyhagen Predelli, Line and Jon Miller (1999) "Piety and Patriarchy: Contested Gender Regimes in Nineteenth-Century Evangelical Missions" in Huber and Lutkehaus, Gendered Missions, pp.67-113.
[142]Grimshaw, Paths of Duty; Haggis, "Professional Wives".
[143]Bowie, "Reclaiming Women's Presence", pp.1-19.

missionaries who did marry continued to work and saved the mission a salary, although wives may have inflated their achievements to home supporters since maintaining a home and raising a family to British standards in a tropical climate took a great deal of time and energy.[144] However, the LMS Ladies Committee did not want their workers to marry too quickly,

> As you spoke of sending two ladies to Canton to study (rather at my suggestion) I think it only fair to say that they are more likely to get married there than in Hong Kong - there are no bachelors in any of the missions in the latter place, while in Canton there are always young Wesleyans and American Presbyterians, who have not yet married. Of course I am taking for granted that a missionary lady would not marry a man who was not a missionary, though there have been a few exceptions to this rule.[145]

As was the case with other missions, the application form female candidates to the LMS were required to sign made the mission's attitudes towards quick marriage quite clear.

> Each Candidate, on appointment, shall sign an engagement, in the presence of two witnesses, binding herself, in case of her voluntarily relinquishing her position within five years, or in case of her marriage within that time, to repay the Board the sum expended by them on her training, outfit and passage - a fifth part being deducted for every year during which she shall have complied with the terms of her engagement and remained unmarried, the said five years to be reckoned from the period of her arrival at her post of labour. She shall also bind herself to give due notice of any such change or engagement, or of any intended marriage, so that measures may be taken for supplying a successor.[146]

This was one of the norms subverted by Hudson Taylor when he set up his Mission, although the similarities and differences among the older-style missions and the CIM need clarification. The group of missionaries who travelled on the Lammermuir were assessed in a very similar fashion to missionaries from other missions, although their assessment is cloaked in the language of holiness. Taylor relied on a small circle of similar-minded acquaintances to process and train potential workers, although he preferred to meet candidates himself. Since no worker applying to the CIM was guaranteed a wage, this

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[144]Grimshaw, Paths of Duty, p.134.
[145]CWM CP 1/27 no.896 Euphemia Barclay, Report from Amy Foster, 17 December 1887.
[146]CWM CP 1 12 no.964 Emogene Ardill, Example of Application, n.d.

differentiation between male and female candidates, and between single and married female workers did not exist.

Of course differences did exist between their status and their work. At the end of the nineteenth century most married women had children, so while in theory all members of the mission were equal, the reality was that women in the CIM with young children, like their colleagues in other missions, spent a great deal of time looking after their own families. The significance of wages to mission labour needs further clarification. Certainly prior to the advent of the CIM mission workers had been keen to establish incremental salaries which differentiate between professional and non-professional workers, and from a very early time the Scottish missions established insurance schemes to protect old and infirm employees. If pushed however, no mission could actually guarantee a wage; Taylor was simply outspoken about what was an unspoken truth in other missions. For example, in this study alone missionaries in Almora and Darjeeling took pay cuts in attempts to protect their work when money was short.[147] Although these were voluntary cuts, they resulted from a sense of uncertainty. Candidates also came from family structures where waged and unwaged members of the family contributed in varying interconnected ways to keep the family afloat. In a certain sense employment by any mission was a simple transfer of this fiscal connectedness from family to the mission. Finally, the levels of the upper working classes and middle classes from which candidates came were ones in which individuals lived with the financial uncertainty of existing just within one's means in order to keep up appearances, with few savings and inadequate insurance.[148] Again, missions offered something not so different in practice but with the added certainty so often provided by faith. This is certainly reflected in the language used to underpin women's unwaged status - that their work was a vocation rather than a profession.

Women applying to the three missions in this study were often described by others, and were always discussed by the respective Committees, but there are some general differences which can be discerned among the missions. These reflect the sometimes

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[147]For detail of the LMS's "....chronic inability to finance and staff the work.... " described in Goodall, History, p. 29, see CWM NI(UP)C 14a/2 M. Budden to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 3 April 1889. Also, see: MS.Dep.298.36 CofS WAFM MB ff.160, 16 October 1905, discussion about Miss Haddock.
[148]Perkin, Harold (1989) The Rise of Professional Society in England Since 1880 (London) p.93.

subtle theological, class, and national differences between candidates who gravitated to each of these missions.

The manner in which candidates to the Church of Scotland Women's mission were presented by their referees reflected their greater maturity and higher degree of training, as well as an orderly Presbyterian attitude to faith and work. They did not gush about religious experience - nor were they enthused over. In the LMS 'ladylike' qualities retained their value even after the turn of the century when references to professional training and experience gradually displaced them elsewhere. For Scottish candidates this process appears to have occurred much earlier. Scots Presbyterian women still provided personal references in the 1880s and 1890s, but the type of information provided in them, and the manner in which these women were described is quite different from either the LMS or the CIM. Referees had more solid evidence to provide, and employed concrete and purposeful language to do so. One woman was a "first rate person for any work where there is scope for originality and organisation, for she has a great force of character and more experience than most girls".[149] Gertrude Campbell's medical references stated that she was "good, intelligent, interested in her work, demonstrates a good knowledge of her profession...and performed to the best of her abilities.... demonstrates judgement and tact".[150] Another candidate "has real grit. She is very purpose like and has both ability and character", and "has expressed a practical and common-sense view of mission matters which would make her a valuable addition to the staff of workers".[151]

While these applications emphasised more masculine characteristics of strength and independence, to be fair, there are letters which include the types of platitudes and prejudices more commonly found in the LMS letters. These seem to occur in the applications of candidates with connections, whose merits are weighted in a different manner than those of their more solidly professional colleagues. The last candidate above was a good teacher, but her headmaster found it necessary to mention her "becoming manner and amiable disposition". It is clear she was not the sort of worker the mission

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[149]MS.7991 CofSWAFM Letters of and Concerning Applicants "Medical References" for Gertrude Campbell, 12 May 1877, p.50.
[150]Ibid.
[151]MS.8006 UFCofS Records of the WMC ff.7, Wm. Stevenson to A. Small, 1910.

was looking for, since she was criticised at the Training Institute for avoiding responsibility. Martha Dunsmore is described as having been "born to be a teacher," having an "amiable disposition and ladylike manners" and Agnes Plumbe is "excellent but not so nearly presentable as her sister and is very insignificant looking, tho she is clever and able and a good speaker".[152] More practical considerations were included about the sister Winifred. She was a "good and diligent student; pleasant; displays good character and disposition, and is a good teacher". Her headmistress described her as "absolutely loyal and trustworthy, filled with zeal for the honour of the school and to carry out the wishes of the mistress". These were qualities which were considered highly desirable in the mission field where personal differences could count for so much. As one of the few university-educated candidates, Winifred exemplifies the growing interest in women's sports at the end of the nineteenth century against which the eugenicists were warning. She was described as having taken "a great deal of trouble with school games, especially hockey. She is even tempered, kind and patient with the girls".[153] One interesting applicant even had excellent Chinese.[154] Another was "a lady of bearing and character, although her parents are a little plain" but she compared favourably to a Miss Grubb, who was described as "Irish, and has a brogue although not objectionably so...."[155] Again, this time in 1885 and describing a new worker to her mission colleagues, Ella Williamson described Miss McGilverie as having pleased the members of the committee who had seen her. "She is very lady-like in appearance and manner and seems very sensible; her certificates all speak of her as being painstaking, thorough and methodical in her work, and she seems to have a very earnest desire to do the Lord's work wherever she has been placed".[156] Dr. Archibald Charteris, who at this time was teaching at Edinburgh University, and was a central figure in Church of Scotland Administration in the 1880s and 1890s, also wrote in support of her appointment, "so far as I can judge she would be an excellent head of an orphanage. If I had a Deaconess (or woman workers) Training

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[152]MS.7991 CofSWAFM Applications ff.93, Agnes Plumbe 25 November 1901, Miss Lorimer to the Committee. Miss Lorimer had met the candidates and was reporting her findings to the WMC.
[153]MS.7991 CofSWAFM Applications ff.115, Winifred Plumbe July 1901, Miss Lorimer to the Committee.
[154]MS.8006 UFCofS Records of the WMC ff.7, Wm. Stevenson to A. Small, 1910.
[155]MS.7991 CofSWAFM Applications ff.23, Miss F. Ashford, 23 November 1901, Miss Lorimer to the Committee.
[156]MS.7524 CofSWAFM LB of the Convenor ff.11 E Williamson to Miss Emily, 1 October 1885.

Institution she would be the kind of person I should like at its head".[157]

The manner candidates were dealt with in the CIM, and language used to describe those individuals stands out against either the Scottish missions' clipped professional evaluations and the LMS. The CIM relied heavily on a consideration of the sorts of 'intangibles' which constituted only part of other missions' assessment procedures. Beginning in 1865 and continuing for roughly a decade, the main consideration for acceptance to the CIM was to develop a personal relationship with Hudson Taylor. Gradually this system evolved to one where candidates spent time at one of the 'Christian Institutions' whose staff adhered to the same evangelical beliefs as Hudson Taylor, where the candidate became acquainted with the theological philosophy of the mission, and the mission became acquainted with him/her.[158] This system remained in place until after the turn of the century when the CC asked for more systematic screening, and the LC agreed to revise their assessment of the qualifications and training of candidates: "while not departing from the former practise of the mission in the selection of candidates, it was felt to be more than ever necessary to select men and women of good capacity for the work in China".[159] The reason why it is important to note the mission's expectations of their training institutions, is that these very expectations were reflected in the language used to describe candidates, both by their referees and in the LC minutes. For both men and women a written estimation of "character", "spirit" and "submission" was meant to indicate whether a potential worker would submit to discipline and not only be committed to Christian work, but specifically to the theological beliefs outlined in the *Principles & Practices*.[160]

The indefinite quality of the language used to describe candidates stands out in CIM

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[157]Ibid., E. Williamson quoting A. Charteris to Miss Emily, 1 October 1885. Ella Williamson (member of the WMC) was writing to Miss Emily, who supervised an orphanage in Calcutta through the first half of the 1880s. Although her work is not a focus of discussion here, the manner in which potential co-workers are described to her is of interest.

[158]Between 1870 the LCM record letters from a long list of such institutions: Inglesby House, the Training Home for Ladies in Westminster, Clerkenwell Mission, the Field Lane Refuge, Harley House in Stratford, the Mildmay Hospital and Training Homes, Bethnal Green Hospital and Pyrland Road/Grosvenor Road Ladies Training Home, and more uncommonly, one or two from the Willows and Highbury (the CMS Training Homes).

[159]CIM/CCM 74, 10 December 1900; and CIM/LCM 11, 19 October 1907.

[160]CIM/LCM 3, 31 December 1872; CIM/LCM 8, 24 September 1895; CIM LCM 4, 6 May 1879; and CIM/LCM 5, 20 April 1887.

records. Candidates, either accepted or rejected, were described in a manner which makes it difficult to develop a clear picture of these individuals with the distance of time. The LC felt the same way, with the result that they developed a system whereby candidates lived at Pyrland Road (the mission's headquarters) so that they could 'know' each individual. While some of the following comments would not be out of place in the LMS applicant files, there they would have been fleshed out with more concrete information. This is not so in the CIM record: a Miss Wilson had a "well known Christian character", Miss Findlay's employer noted her "good conduct and character", Miss C Horne was "a soul-winner" and the committee noted of Miss Stranson "we like her spirit".[161] The council's reasons for rejecting candidates were similarly vague: Miss Wombwell "must immerse herself in Christian work", one candidate was "quite unfit", Miss Shaw's referee pointed out the "remarkable unwillingness of one and another to work with her", and the phrase the committee used to describe Miss Spottiswood "not a suitable person"[162] became practically a trope. The problem with these intangibles were that they were impossible for the LC and CC to communicate about. Their experience with Mr Groombridge serves as an example. As a candidate Groombridge shone, displaying the "highest character". He had also spent two years in the Clerkenwell Mission where he was assessed as "intelligent and spiritually advanced" and where he had "preached a clear gospel, was indefatigable in visiting". "His heart was taken up by the work".[163] Yet two years later the LC was defending itself that Groombridge had been told about the nature of the mission enterprise, after he left his station complaining about conditions and moved to Shanghai to work with a trading company. Alone, the Groombridge case might appear as no different than occurred in any of the missions, but in the context of further communications between the CC and the LC, it means more. In 1897 Hudson Taylor pointed out that both the North American and Australian candidates were better acquainted with the *Principles & Practices* than their British counterparts. By this he meant they understood and were prepared to adhere to the rules of the mission. The LC continued to reiterate that they were telling candidates about the rules, but this simply was not good enough. The problem remained an issue until 1900, when the CC outlined

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[161]CIM/LCM 3, 7 December 1875; CIM/LCM 4, 21 January 1882; CIM/LCM 8, 13 August 1897; and CIM/LCM 8, 19 January 1897.
[162]CIM/LCM 4, 28 July 1879; CIM/LCM 5, 7 December 1886; CIM/LCM 5, 14 April 1885; and CIM/LCM 1 8, 19 January 1897.
[163]CIM/LCM 3, 31 October 1872.

specific areas in which candidates should be examined prior to being sent to China for further language training. These blended intangibles (earnestness, a pleasant temperament and ability to harmonise, and willingness to better themselves for the work and submit to authority) with more concrete accomplishments (health, basic Chinese skills, passing exams of Bible knowledge, knowledge of the CIM, China and teaching skills).[164] These suggestions were not implemented until 1907, when the council approved a draft of a program for the Ladies Training Home. The council continue to describe candidates in the same indistinct manner, "so suitable to the work" until 1910.[165]

2.4 The Training of Female Candidates

Women's unsystematic training is difficult both to discover and analyse. It is simply not possible to apply to women candidates the statistical models Williams used for male candidates at least until the period at the very end of this study. Not only were very few female candidates college educated; when they had a degree of higher education, they were educated in vastly different ways - at home, at small independent schools, at various professional and semi-professional training institutes, and at various mission training houses. With such diversity it is simply not appropriate to discuss either what education women had on application to the missions or what they received after application, in terms of analytical samples. The discussion of this material will therefore necessarily be descriptive. The discussion of women's education is further complicated by the fact that being small and diverse, few of even the oft-mentioned training institutions left records, and so it is hard to get more than impressions of the kind of training and assessment that women underwent in this period.[166] What is clear is that throughout the period of this study the terms under which women were hired - medical worker, Zenana worker, or teacher - had many different meanings, which can only be understood by taking into account a candidates' social background, the mission in question, the work in which she was meant to be employed, and the field to which she was being sent to work.

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[164]CIM/CCM 73, 10 December 1900.
[165]CIM/LCM 11, 11 December 1906; CIM/LCM 10, 3 October 1905.
[166]This is evident in Williams, "Missing Link", pp.43-69. It is also discussed in Buettner, Elizabeth Ann (1998) "Families, Children, and Memories: Britons in India, 1857-1947", (University of Michigan PhD thesis, Ann Arbour); and Morawiecki, "Peculiar Mission".

This section consists of two parts. The first looks at what education candidates had prior to their application. The second deals with what methods each mission employed to train and assess their female workers. The World Missionary Conference, held in 1910 at Edinburgh, produced a paper which criticised the paucity of systematic training for women, and strongly recommended that all missions address that need. Although the Women's Training Institute in Edinburgh was established more than a decade before the Edinburgh Conference, it receives the most attention in this study since it was strongly influenced by members of the WMC, and members of its board were actually on the committee which wrote the report on women's education. The Scottish situation is framed by mention of the various smaller training institutes used and established by the LMS and CIM. The Bible College Movement, for example, grew at least in part out of a need to train missionaries, and the desire to train them in an independent evangelical tradition. Finally, language competence was an obvious requirement for mission workers, and was pointed out as a particular problem for women workers. In this period the LMS and the Scottish missions provided money for their missionaries to study a language in their first two or three years in the field. After being examined successfully their pay increased, but failure to achieve language competency was grounds for terminating their contract.[167] However the CIM chose to operate by creating centrally located language schools in China, through which all candidates passed before heading to their first station. As with their London-based institutions, these language training centres acted as much to screen further the behaviour and attitudes of new members as to train them in Chinese culture and language.

2.4.1 Candidates Training Prior to Application

The period dealt with in this study covers a change whereby missions which had relied on assessing candidates' previous educational background moved towards the provision of training with a specific mission focus. In what is by now a well-documented progression, missions generally shifted from their reliance on candidates from a higher social background and some training, to those with a more varied social standing but who had

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[167]FCofS Rules for Administration of India Missions under Mission Councils, (Edinburgh), p.13; UPC (1891) "Hints for the Guidance of Candidates and Ladies' Committees" *UPMR* Vol. II, 1 December 1 1881 p.393-4; "Questions for Lady Candidates" For example see: CWM CP/2 22 no. 957 Miss M. Christlieb, 16 March 1892.

undergone longer and more rigorous professional training. For several reasons the LMS stands on the middle ground in this section. Their records offer the most data over the longest time period and so provide a large enough sample to chart continuity and change. Other missions and a few remarkable individual missionaries stand out against what is being set up as the LMS "norm". The general expectation of LMS candidates was that their education be completed prior to application. The Ladies Selection Committee required that any perceived deficiencies be redressed by the candidate herself. Up until the 1890s the LMS like other mainstream British missions primarily relied on the candidates to arrange basic schooling, professional qualifications and religious training on their own. In the 1890s it became more common for candidates either to have attended, or to be referred to, the several small mission training institutions which had been set up in London and Scotland. There they received training in bible literacy, social and moral guidance, a basic cultural and geographical introduction to their mission field, and participated in "practical" training which included district visiting, working in settlement houses of the home missions.[168] After the turn of the century more female candidates to the LMS had attended College. However, with the figures rising to only approximately twenty percent between 1900 and 1914,[169] the impression that the number of women with formal education grew dramatically does not quite match the reality.

The experience of women applying to the Scottish missions and the CIM improves this picture a little. The fewer women applying to the Scottish missions were more highly educated and had more professional experience than their colleagues who applied to either of the other missions. Candidates to the CIM display a wide variety of educational backgrounds but again roughly follow the trend of being increasingly educated. They also give evidence of broadly-based work experience. Candidates from North America stand out against their British colleagues as more likely to have had a College education and to have worked, often as teachers, prior to joining the mission.[170]

Three periods of education can be identified for LMS candidates. In the 1860s and 1870s candidates most commonly referred to having attended a local school or having been

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[168]Rowbotham, Judith (1996) "This is No Romantic Story" *NAMP Position Papers* (4), Cambridge, p. 5.
[169]Seton, "Open Doors", pp.50-69.
[170]CIM/86 Register of Missionaries.

schooled at home. In the 60/70s group one of the candidates referred to having been a governess from the age of seventeen.[171] These candidates universally refer to having volunteered as district visitors, as do the wives of missionaries at this time. The next group of candidates, applying in the 80/90s, refer to volunteer activities as well, but they were more likely to have attended some sort of formal training institute in addition to their early schooling and church attendance. Of the seventeen women hired who listed a training institution in their applications (fourteen did not), up until the turn of the century, two attended the Home and Colonial Society Training Institute, two went to Milton Mount College, two attended Stockwell Training College, two attended the CMS institute the Willows, one Doric Lodge, one a private Salvation Army School, one the Zenana Medical College, and three cited having attended Walthamstow Hall as children. Only one listed her qualifications as having gained a "teaching certificate, while this qualification was quite common for candidates from Scotland. One candidate had been "a day probationer nurse" at Royal Edinburgh Hospital (under her father), and before the turn of the century five LMS applicants went through the course at London School of Medicine for Women. Between 1900 and 1914 the proportion of women hired by the LMS to work in North India with secondary education was higher than those hired for other areas of work. During this period seven of the women had attended Training Institutes such as Totteridge Training Hospital, Mildmay Mission Hospital and Livingstone College, and the remaining six were University-educated.[172]

The women who applied to the Scottish missions and for whom detailed educational information is available, are those for the latter part of the 1890s and up until 1910. Their applications reflect even greater access to education and professional work experience than those of their colleagues south of the border. While individual female doctors appear to have had roughly the same training in each case, it is in the teaching and nursing professions that the greatest difference can be seen between women hired by the Scottish missions and the LMS. In this time period Scottish workers offer evidence of much longer and more formal training than those hired either by the LMS or by the CIM. Since the female candidates applying to the Scottish Presbyterian missions had their professional

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[171]CWM CP 7 28 no.718, Testimony of Mary Heward, 8 July 1875.
[172]CWM CP.

training either complete or well under way, when the missions put them into training programmes, they were able to focus on candidates' missiological strategies, and to prepare them for life and work in a new cultural environment. The academic expectations of the Scottish training institutions appear to have been higher than those in London. There are no records of actual course content for Mildmay, Highbury or the Willows, but their aim appears to have been to assess character and refine women's skills at the types of voluntary activities with which candidates had been previously involved.[173] The expectation of these training homes was that women were not familiar with academic rigor, and this expectation was met, both in London, and in the CIM training homes in China who regularly sent home complaints that female students were simply unprepared for study.[174] In Edinburgh the Women's Training Institute was particularly concerned that their students be familiar with other world religions. Graduates' ability to reason and defend their faith in a systematic fashion was a source of pride for women like Annie Small.[175]

It is a much more straightforward process to discuss the formal higher education of Scottish candidates than their English colleagues. Teachers whose applications were considered all appear to have been certified and had either completed or were in the process of completing an apprenticeship or a period of practical teaching which appears to have lasted for at least one year in all cases. Of the women who applied for teaching positions in Presbyterian missions over this twenty-five year period, only three appear to have been trained as pupil-teachers (these were in Oban, Aberdeen and Stornoway). Seven of the women refer to having attained Teaching Certificates and one of these had

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[173]Mildmay was begun in the 1860's by Wm. Pennefather as a non-denominational evangelical training institute for lay women. Candidates to both the LMS and CIM (and CMS) attended courses there and worked in its social programmes. The CIM opened 'Pyrland Road' to female applicants in 1875. However its candidates attended a whole raft of small private institutions as noted above. Highbury and the Willows were each CMS institutions, the former opened in 1891 for women whose background made them 'unsuitable' for admission to the latter. Williams, "Recruitment and Training", p.304. Also see: Vicinius, Martha (1985) Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920 (London) pp.58-62.

[174]The CC asked that candidates' health checks pay particular attention to any tendency to headaches or inability to attend to studies. See: CIM/CP 74, 10 December 1900.

[175]Small, Annie (1890) Light and Shade in Zenana Missionary Life (Paisley).

ten years experience teaching for the YWCA.[176] Nine of the candidates had completed very respectable degrees at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, or Newnham or Girton College. Only one referred to having passed examinations of the Science and Art Department of the South Kensington School. Attendance there was much more common among LMS applicants between 1880 and 1910.

Only nine of the candidates had spent a period at a church training institute, reflecting the missions' attitude that admission to such an institution did not automatically ensure acceptance as a missionary. However, this was not universally the case as Miss Menzies's 1911 experience of having to attend for a short period even though she was in reality already accepted indicates:

> the sub-committee have had some informal talk about her destination , which is likely to be Calcutta - the Zenana Department with superintendence of Schools. To qualify for this she ought to have a course of kindergarten, and get a certificate if possible.... whether this is possible with her other work - if not this term could it be managed in summer?[177]

Most of these women attended Scottish training institutes - United Free Church Training Institute in Glasgow; the Forrester -Paton Home in Glasgow; the United/Free Church Training College; Burnbank Garden Home (LMS candidates attended here as well); St. Colm's which later became the Women's Training Institute; and one trained at the Aberdeen Free Church Training College to teach Industrial Arts.[178] One spent time at the Liverpool Deaconess Home, one was at Doric Lodge, and one spent time in Miss Guinness's Training Home (CIM) in London.[179]

Only two women in this sample applied as nurses. Both were trained prior to application - one at the Paisley Infirmary and another who claimed three years training as a fever nurse.

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[176]y.219 UPC MR Vol. V 2 June 1884 "New Agents Appointed by the UPC 1884" p.196; MS.8006 WMC Records ff. 259, Wm. Stevenson to A. Small. Report on Miss Helen Gibson Thompson who had studied Literature, Philosophy, Moral Philosophy and Experimental physics at Edinburgh University. She also studied Latin, Greek, Maths at Newnham College. Before applying to be a missionary she had run a boarding school at Helensburgh for 10 years and had been a YWCA worker.
[177]MS.8006 WMC Records ff.112, Report on E. Selkirk, 17 January 1911.
[178]Ibid., ff.231 and 237, Application of Maggie Tennant, 9 June 1902.
[179]MS.7628 CofSWAFM Secretary's Letters ff.54, C. Rutherford to Miss Longhurst, 18 June 1896.

These are quite different from the women who trained in the LMS training homes to be medical missionaries, on courses which characteristically lasted a couple of weeks. The woman doctors of these Scottish candidates applied with a wide variety of practice, and good references. Elizabeth Selkirk had trained in midwifery at Coombe Hospital in Dublin, had been House Surgeon in the Sanatorium for Women in Glasgow and Royal Hospital for Sick Children, Edinburgh, and trained at the Edinburgh School of Medicine.[180] Letitia Bernard trained with the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society in the early 1880s.[181]

The reality was that all the women represented in this sample, with their wide variety of training and experience, had to be distilled into the form of "missionary". Debates over the best way in which to train women, or whether to train them at all, were an ongoing concern of all the missions, but it was not until the World Missionary Conference of 1910 that a concerted effort was made to discuss the issue across denominational boundaries. The arguments about missionary training, and the training of women in particular were closely linked to curriculum development at the Women's Training Institute in Edinburgh. The following discussion of the professionalization of female missionary training after the turn of the century is structured around a discussion of the history of the WTI.

2.4.2 The Training Set Up For Women By the Missions

Members of the Scottish Presbyterian missions wrote the discussion paper on missionary training for the Edinburgh Conference which pointed out some of the realities of foreign mission work. Central to their critique was that the varying educational standards of the past - ranging from the middle-class standards of training for the home ministry to the anti-intellectual response of the faith missions with their focus on missionary work as a means to personal spirituality - had resulted in too many workers with an inability to identify with other cultures.[182] It was at Edinburgh that discussions of women and men's training began to coalesce, and it seems that this stemmed directly from the involvement

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[180] MS.7992 CofSWAFM Applications ff.116 and 170, E. Selkirk, 1901.
[181] MS.Dep.298.30 CofSWAFM MB, 15 April 1884. Also see: Macdonald, "Women", p.185; and, although the only women in this history are nurses: Wilkinson, John (1991) The Coogate Doctors (Edinburgh).
[182] Both Archibald Charteris and Annie Small were on this committee.

of key Presbyterian Church leaders who had developed an interest in the systematic training of women missionaries. These individuals founded the Women's Missionary Training Institute (later St. Colm's College) the philosophy and curriculum of which stand as a practical example of the recommendations made at Edinburgh two decades later.

The College was founded in 1894 by Annie Hunter Small as the result of long and careful examination of the state of female mission education in Britain.[183] The following year R. Wardlaw Thompson of the LMS, visited the institute as Foreign Secretary, in order to report on its usefulness for LMS training.[184] The Presbyterians were willing to accept candidates from other missions if space allowed, but wished to acknowledge the support of both the Church as a corporation, and of individual Presbyterian supporters, by charging candidates from other denominations higher fees: "We certainly have been very generous to other denominations seeing as our own church has not only given capital outlay, but gives annually a considerable portion of the current expenditures."[185] The Institute was under the authority of the United Free Church by 1910, and with Union in 1929 became the Church of Scotland's Women's Missionary College after merging with the CofS Deaconess Training Home. Students at St. Colm's were expected to attend lectures not only at their own school, but at New College as well. Men were admitted to the college after 1951, and it continues to function as a training centre for the Diaconate, overseas personnel and lay students.[186]

Although the opening of the new building was reported in UFCofS *Missionary Record* as "chiefly through the efforts of Miss C. Rainy and Mrs E. Cleghorne[187] it seems clear that the direction and spirit behind this venture originated in Annie Small, a dynamic woman who is described as an ardent "Swarajist". She was a vegetarian, was critical of British policy in India, and left the mission to work independently for almost a decade before she was invalided home from her own missionary career in North India. The daughter of Indian missionaries, Annie Small was born in Reading and spent much of her childhood

[183]MS.7920 FCofSWFM Letters of Convenor ff.428, Wm. Stevenson to A. Small, 23 May 1888.
[184]Ibid., ff.723, 9 May 1889.
[185]MS.8006 UFCofS Papers of WTI ff.84, Wm. Stevenson to A. Small, 24 November 1910.
[186]Cameron, *et al.*, Dictionary, p.741.
[187]U.402 UFCofS *MR* Vol. VIII "The New Missionary College for Women, Inverleith Terrace, Edinburgh" December 1908, pp.555-6; Ibid., Vol. IX "The Training of Women for Christian Work" 1909, pp.552-3.

in boarding schools in Britain, including Walthamstow Hall. "Small believed that the calling of a missionary of Jesus Christ is to a life, not a mere life-work. Training was given in the context of community living in which worship, meal fellowship and leisure all had their essential places".[188] Her teaching laid special emphasis on personal prayer, the world religions and practical preparation for service,[189] and she took a particular interest in the state of gender relations in church affairs. With her background of a mission family and religious training, Small was one of a type of candidate who felt that going to India was "rather [to be] taken for granted".[190] Her memoirs recorded a specific conversion experience at a young age which occurred at Walthamstow Hall after the sudden death of an influential friend. Although Small's candidate papers are not available, her recording this event as important only many years later and not as a young applicant fits into what appears to be the norm for Scottish applicants, from whom ecstatic religious accounts were not welcomed. Small recorded her experiences as a young missionary in North India in a short didactic autobiography. She described having found her background in comparative religion to be important after having been challenged to a debate in front of many local men. She claims to have been able to outsmart them due to her manipulation of the religious symbols from a foreign religion to make her own point. She later used this incident to underline the importance of theological training for women. This incident is interesting as it represents only one of her many comments which emphasised the importance, and under-appreciation of women's work in the Church, both at home and abroad. That Small played an important role in developing mission training can be found in William Stevenson's 1911 request that she continue her involvement in training after the World Missionary Conference.[191]

Although Small's emphasis on individual personality and private devotion parallels what the Guinness/Broomhall/Taylor family compact practised at the CIM headquarters in Stoke-Newington, the women being trained in St. Colm's were given more substantial training than were women who went through other missions' Institutions. This reflected the Scottish expectation that the women arrive with higher training, as this article

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[188]UFCofS WMM Vol. XI (1911) p. 19.
[189]Cameron, *et al.*, Dictionary, p.779.
[190]Wyon, Three Windows, p.19.
[191]MS. 8006 UFCofS WMC Records ff.115, Wm. Stevenson to A. Small, 25 January 1911.

describing the work of the College outlined:

> By this time it is hoped that she is so at home in college methods of work, that she is able to face difficult subjects with independence and satisfaction.... also advanced work in Old and New Testaments, "the organisation of education" with reference to differences between home and abroad, blackboard drawing, voice culture, and the keeping of mission accounts are covered.[192]

The Scottish candidates were resident for one or two years, or in special circumstances for one term of six months. The early curriculum at St. Colm's emphasised the development of personal devotional life as the one foundation for service and emphasised the centrality of corporate worship. Bible study and theology, Missionary Apologetics, and language study were complemented by an introduction to elementary sociology, the economics of industry and religions of the world, all of which were recommended at the Edinburgh conference.[193] Practical work consisted of district visiting, leading girls clubs and starting and supervising children's services in the area.[194]

Residential training was increasing for women receiving higher education at the turn of the century: the St. Colm's initiative is not remarkable in that sense. However, the residential nature of the home meant that the women could be moulded in a personal as well as a professional sense, and assessed accordingly. Further, the training was at least in part aimed at seeing if the women could cope with living in community in the mission field. Many accounts of mission life mention how difficult it was for missionaries to live together for extended periods of time and under adverse conditions. Applicants to the College were also asked to provide evidence that they were members of a congregation, and a certificate of "character and capabilities, from a lady". These women were carving out a professional niche for themselves within the established, very set religious and social context. Despite its commitment to providing previously trained candidates with the principal qualifications to be a missionary, St. Colm's continued to rely on the recommendations of like-minded individuals to judge those qualities which could not be

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[192]UFCofS WMM Vol. XI (1911) p.20.
[193]Gairdner, W.H.T. (1910) "The Preparation of Missionaries" in Edinburgh 1910: An Account and Interpretation of the World Missionary Conference (Edinburgh), pp.215-237.
[194]Wyon, Three Windows.

separated from the education and work experience of professional development.

2.5 Conclusion

In 1910 William Stevenson offered Annie Small some of his books for the Women's Training Institute. His action encapsulates the state of women's place in the mission endeavour, and in particular their evolving status as candidates. Most obviously it speaks to the relative youth and poverty of women's formal education, and theological training in particular: "I enclose a list of books you may have for your library [from the mission], so far as you want them - some of them are good - and some not worth much.... when I have time to go over my own library I may have some Theological books to offer you...."[195] Further than this, it represents the central theme of this chapter, as a concrete example of how central was gender in the selection and training of mission candidates. Annie Small, and by extension this women's training institution, built a career through skilful negotiation of women's work and worth alongside that of their male colleagues. The Women's Training Institute stands as an example of the struggle missions went through to merge a codification of practice with an appreciation of the sort of intangible qualities selection committees struggled to assess.

This offer of free books underlines that in terms of formal education at the end of the nineteenth century women were struggling to catch up with their male counterparts, but it is suggestive of much more. The recommendations on education from the Edinburgh conference mirror the WTI in making an attempt to articulate the importance of non-academic alongside academic qualities, and the following chapters will outline how gendered relations in the mission field contributed to this outcome. This incident also represents an investiture of sorts - a passing on of knowledge from an older colleague to the new. It is most starkly a gift of some monetary value, but more than that it acknowledges the worth of the students and their training by the sharing of academic treasures accumulated over a lifetime. While women's theological training remained experimental at the time, Stevenson's offer of both books from the Mission library and his own home show that theological training for women was valued by the FCofS. In 1911

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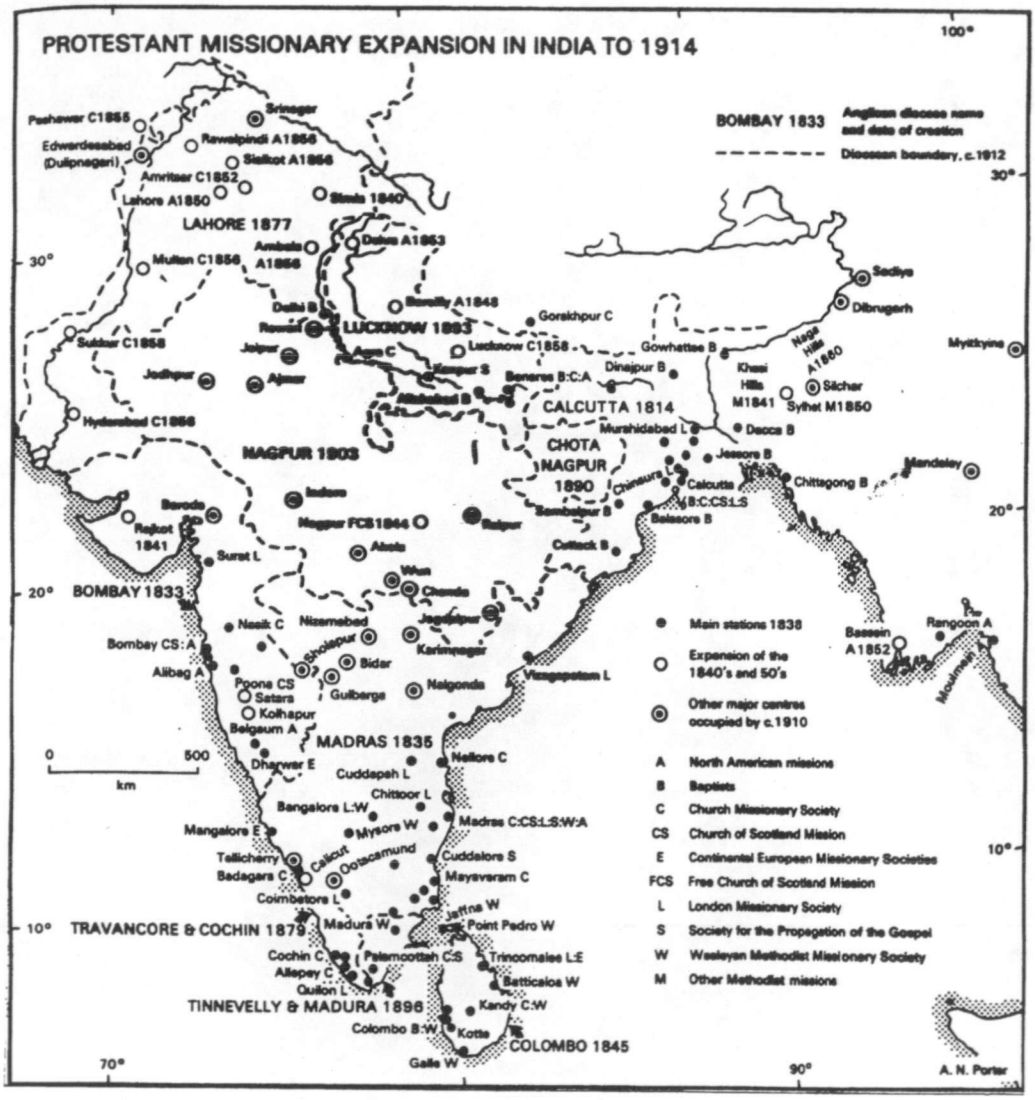
[195]MS.8006 UFCofS WMC Records ff.84, Wm. Stevenson to A. Small, 24 November 1910.

Stevenson wrote to Small again, asking her not to step down, and remarking "I remember how hard it was to get any but a few to believe in the training of women missionaries at all, and see where we stand now!"[196]

[196]MS.8006 UFCofS WMC Records ff.248, Wm. Stevenson to A. Small, 20 November 1911.



Map 1: Protestant Missionary Expansion in India to 1914

Chapter Three

LMS Work in North India: "the Feeblest work in all of India"

"To those who consider that the only legitimate and satisfactory result of a certain amount of money spent and of effort put forth in Christian missions is the baptism of a certain number of professed converts to Christianity, the present aspect of affairs in Northern India generally of this province in particular will probably be unsatisfactory. But the question arises if this is a wise and correct view of the case"....[1]

3.1 Introduction

In this comparative study of women's work in British missions, the work of the London Missionary Society represents a middle ground, against which the other missions are placed. Its funds and candidates came primarily from English Congregational networks, what might be called a mainstream non-conformity, although the mission did reach outside England for workers and support. Members of the Society occasionally expressed concern to maintain ties with Scottish Congregational circles, even though David Livingstone, like others of the LMS's most famous missionaries, came from outside Congregational circles, and outside England. The LMS represents middle ground between the other two missions in this study in other important ways. Its membership was originally based on a subscription of one guinea annually or a donation of ten pounds, and was also open to the ministers of congregations able to subscribe fifty pounds annually to the mission. LMS workers did not establish Congregational churches as part of their mission aim; at times this very flexibility resulted in difficulties as policy had to be developed "on the ground".[2] At one extreme from the LMS lay the Scots Presbyterian Foreign Mission Committees, which were the foreign arm of the General Assembly, the governing body of the Presbyterian Church. It created congregations and institutions which followed the Presbyterian form of worship and administration. At the other extreme was the CIM, which was non-denominational. It differed from the others as well in the fact that membership also consisted of its mission workers, and that its administration was head-quartered in China.

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[1]CWM NI(UP)C 6 3/D 48 H. Budden reporting on the meeting of the DC, 20 April 1868.
[2]Thorogood, Gales of Change, pp.240-245.

By the 1880s the work of the LMS was almost a century old, so its operations had become large and institutional, and less flexible. It had also outgrown many of the development pains experienced by the CIM which will be discussed in Chapter V. Experience and increased institutionalisation however, did not mean that *all* problems had been surmounted, as this chapter will show. The LMS undertakings in the United Provinces provide material which illuminates the realities experienced by the Society as it struggled to manage the world-wide network it had created. This chapter is structured around the individuals who staffed LMS work in the United Provinces. Organising the chapter in this fashion provides a rough chronological narrative of work in the Province. Layered into this are the gender concerns which shape the central argument of this thesis. Throughout the course of this chapter it will become clear how the gendered expectations of individual mission workers informed the course of LMS work in the United Provinces. It was men who played the central role in founding the work, and so their beliefs and experiences are presented initially. The gendered nature of their public and private behaviour both shaped the course of their work, and set the scene into which younger female colleagues joined in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Such a long-term view of the work makes clear that as women joined the mission endeavour, they joined an evolving organisation, the character of which was already shaped by the kinds of assumptions which were informing notions of professionalism throughout the nineteenth century.

This study highlights a range of factors which contributed to the development of this particular mission field; some played a role in missions generally, but some were particular to the LMS and to the station concerned. The missionaries who worked in this province were a complex group with differing motives and loyalties split between the mission movement and their own purposes. In a sense this field had it all - administrative arguments, family dynasties, debates surrounding methods and the role Indian Christians should be allowed to play. There was even the occasional scandal. Like all missions, this station consisted of individuals, who came with their own beliefs and backgrounds, in part the product of their education and experience, and in part the result of peculiar personalities. This mission also suffered particularly both from misunderstandings, and from the deliberate manipulation of the distance between the Society in London and its workers in North India. All this was placed in the context of a specific locale with its own

needs - periodic famine, the demand for secular education, political developments, and the social and economic demands of poverty. This LMS work in North India is presented in order to offer concrete illustrations of the day-to-day realities of mission work, realities which resulted in the 1910 WMC challenge to what had been the gradual evolution of strategies of recruitment and training in all missions.

In particular this chapter addresses the need to understand what role women played in this project. As was the case in other missions, women were involved in LMS work from its inception as the wives and sisters of male missionaries.[3] However, this discussion analyses the process of change from relative-helpers to single female missionaries, which came about as an answer to oft-repeated requests for help with women's work. The arrival of these single women in North India added to the already complex interactions taking place in the mission. While the single women might have been aligned with wives in underlining the importance of women's work with women, which ensured women a role in the mission endeavour, there existed fundamental differences between single and married women in other essential areas. New workers were stepping into the emerging professional roles for women. Particularly in the twentieth century when women interact comfortably in many of the habitats they colonised in the period under discussion, it is important to understand more fully how these unordained women integrated their training and religious beliefs in the type of secular activities which, according to some contemporary observers, directed mission energies away from its central evangelical purpose.[4] In particular, how did women at the end of the nineteenth century contribute to the LMS mission in the United Provinces as it changed in response to local demands for primary education and health care, changing rules as to the nature of the education to be provided, and demands from Great Britain? Out of door evangelization by the ordained, tract distribution, teaching at large educational institutes, and church building were gradually supplemented by methods which focused on creating relationships, thus inspiring a religious response at the individual level. It seems almost as though the mission had lost its original picture, and needed to be refocused. Change was meant to

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[3]Brouwer, New Women; Stanley, History, pp.227-231; Bowie, "Introduction" and Kirkwood, Deborah (1993), "Protestant Missionary Women: Wives and Spinsters" In Bowie, *et al.*, Women and Missions, pp.1-19 and pp. 23-42; Haggis, "Good Wives".

[4]CWML.026 (1877) "The Missionary Conference 12 May - 23 May 1877" (Shanghai); CWM NI(UP)C 13 11/D 48 NI Conference Resolution", 3 July 1905.

produce a move away from institutional work back towards work with people. This included missionaries making connections by living simply while teaching at primary schools and leading local discussion groups, or offering primary health care.

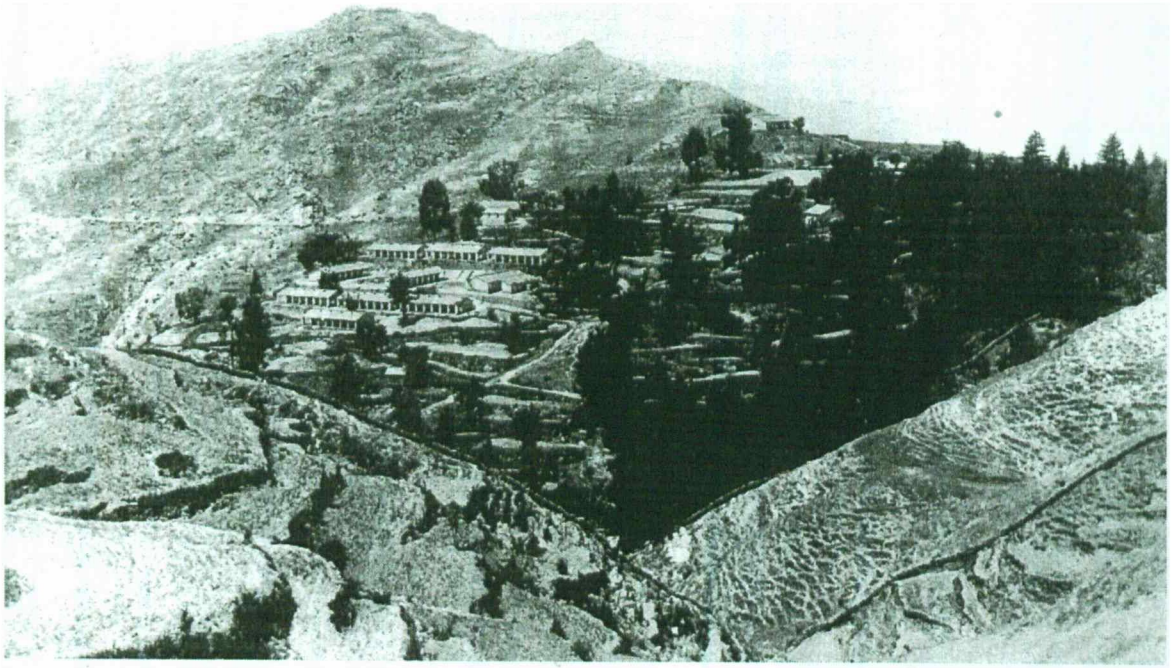

Figure 1: The Almora Leper Hospital, c. 1890

3.2 History of Work in the United Provinces

The London Missionary Society extended its work in Northern India from Calcutta to Mirzapur and Benares in the 1820s and 1830s. Smaller outstations were opened in Singrowli in 1859 and at Mangari in 1894, in what was then the United Provinces and has since become Uttar Pradesh.[5] Linked administratively to these stations, at times tenuously, were others situated in the hills north-west of Benares in the Kumaon province to the west of Nepal. Almora was established in 1850.[6] Like the missions in Benares and Mirzapur, the missionaries in Almora became involved in the education of local children. The local school later became a College in 1886 which was affiliated with Calcutta University. The missionaries at Almora preached in the bazaar, opened a Chapel for European expatriates

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[5]Goodall, History, Chapter 2.
[6]CWM NI(UP)C 8/D/51 "Correspondence on the Subject of the Almora Mission Property" D. Hutton, 23 May 1871.

and local Christians, and opened an orphanage and a home for women. The unique features of the mission were its hospital for lepers, which the mission assumed responsibility for in the 1860s and its achievement of the only conversions of significant numbers of individuals in the province.[7]

From the beginning, the Almora Mission was supported by the local European community, which consisted of the owners and managers of tea plantations and the local British military and civil administrative personnel. Sir Henry Ramsay, District Commissioner in the region (1856-1884), took a keen interest in the mission. He served on the mission board in Almora, raised funds locally and donated his home as a vacation home for missionaries.[8] Almora was also administered by two generations of one family, which created a mission community quite unlike its neighbours, even in the face of financial and personal pressures. Henry Budden joined the LMS in 1841 and remained in Almora, writing insightful letters to the Foreign Secretary which chronicle his struggle with mission methods and aims, and which also cover the period after his retirement in 1887 until his death in 1890.[9] All four of his daughters worked in missions in various capacities, and his second, Mary, was superintendent in Almora in all but name. She remained with the station even when it was transferred to the American Episcopal Mission in 1926.[10] From 1890 Almora also served as a central station for staff who established a mission to the Bhot people, a group of indigenous northerners who traded into Tibet during yearly trips through the Himalayas. Like Stanley Smith's mission in Darjeeling, these LMS missionaries intended this mission to be the staging ground for missions into Tibet itself, but this never actually occurred.

Three final branches of this LMS work are dealt with in this chapter. A close neighbour to Almora was a short-lived mission at Rani Khet. Perhaps due to its exchange of stations

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[7]CWM NI(UP)C 6/3/D 48 H. Budden Report on DC, n.d., received 20 April 1868.
[8]CWM NI(UP)C 6 1/D 104 H. Budden to J. Mullens, 14 June 1866. (Ramsay local supporter and on board of asylum); 12/2/D 45 H. Coley to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 2 June 1884 (Ramsay's retirement); 14a/1 H. G Bulloch, 2 April 1888 (Ramsay donating 'Snow View' to the mission); 14a/2 M. Budden, 3 April 1889 (re: Ramsay College). See also: Walton, H.G. (1904) District Gazetteers of the United Provinces Vol. XXXV "Almora" (Calcutta), pp.122-161. In 1864 he arranged for the revenue from one of the government-managed tea garden to be used to support the leper asylum.
[9]CWM NI(UP)C Incoming letters from missionaries.
[10]Goodall, History, pp.29 and 33.

with other missions, the LMS was also periodically responsible for another mission hospital in the hills, Chandag, an interesting one because it was administered by a woman suffering from leprosy herself. However references to this station are scant.[11] The Kachwa mission hospital and the village surrounding it south-east of Benares, was the last station established by the LMS in the UP, as part of the Forward Movement in 1894. It survived until after 1925 when the medical missionary responsible for its support and direction retired from active service. By 1924 the Society had begun to move its resources out of northern India into the south, but because of the personal commitment by Dr. Robert Ashton, kept the Kachwa Mission going until his retirement in 1929.

3.2.1 From London to the Foothills of the Himalayas

By the 1880s the LMS consisted of its Board of Directors elected from all members, and Home and Foreign Secretaries who co-ordinated the work of various sub-committees in London. These included Corresponding Committees organised on geographic lines, Committees to deal with Candidates, Equipment, Finance and Funds, and prior to 1890 when women joined the Board, a Ladies Committee.[12] These central committees were connected with local auxiliaries which broadcast the work of the Society in order to raise funds, interest candidates and convince British supporters of the importance of their involvement in the mission movement. It was the secretaries of these sub-committees who corresponded with the missionaries themselves, and with the District Committees created in the field after 1860.[13] The Foreign Secretary played a vital role in all of this, and it is the letters and reports exchanged between these individuals and North India which provide the data for discussion in this chapter. Successive Foreign Secretaries sent and received official and non-official correspondence to and from individual missionaries and District Committees; the personal nature of the correspondence in this sample is representative of the attention every missionary and each situation received during this period.

As a large religious organisation meant to represent the wishes of its many constituents, the LMS had deficiencies in its structures and business functions. In North India, as

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[11]CWM NI(UP)C 17 3 G. Bulloch to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 25 March 1903.
[12]Goodall, History, p.538; Lovett, History, p.207.
[13]Goodall, History.

elsewhere, individuals were sometimes hired who probably should not have made it through the selection process. It was this reality which led the home committees to scrutinise each candidate's background and training ever more carefully. However, the following case is meant less as an example of failure in Candidates' Selection processes, as to highlight how difficult long distance communication and decision-making were, particularly when matters of a personal nature were involved. Even when purely professional failings should have made the decision to terminate a contract easy, the fact that the Directors in London were forced to rely on observations submitted by colleagues in the field, made their collection of impartial information difficult.

New missionaries often lived with a more senior colleague and his family upon arrival in India. In the 1840s one of the new missionaries engaged in some sort of distasteful behaviour towards his colleague's wife, yet even after a flurry of letter writing and another incident of misbehaviour that he left the mission, a full twelve years after his initial employment.[14] Perhaps his longevity can be explained by the vague but powerful reason that he appears to have been personable and most of his co-workers liked him. Their reports home are generally favourable despite his apparent ability to avoid any meaningful work. However, the Directors were also handicapped by the situation. Just as the mission methods were evolving, so too were administrative structures, and the process whereby Directors were forced to rely, in disciplinary matters as in much else, on the unofficial reports of co-workers whose positions in relation to one another were fraught with personality differences, was less than perfect. This is obviously a problem not easily solved in any large organisation, but here the administrative difficulty was compounded by distance. Unlike civil and military establishments in India who had the authority to deal with such a situation on the ground, mission workers were colleagues, expected to live and work in close proximity held together by a bond of shared race and purpose. In this case it took the Directors three years to dismiss William Glen, and despite what appear to be fairly major misdemeanours, he remained involved with the mission ten years after that. This administrative foot-dragging is symptomatic of a more general unease in addressing the sort of personal behaviour that reflected on professional

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[14]CWM NI Journal 2 3/B J. Kennedy to A. Tidman, 11 October 1842; W. Glen to A. Tidman, 18 October 1842; and 2 4/B R. Mather to A. Tidman, 18 March 1844 and 18 April 1848.

standing. The realities of mission work - the fact that workers lived alongside one another and were a discrete and identifiable unit, and women were present in station life as both family members and professional workers placed increasing importance on the professional margins.

The LMS mission in the United Provinces was begun in 1820, in Benares. By 1826 a deputation reported the types of work LMS workers had begun in the region. Religious services were held wherever possible, local individuals were encouraged to talk to the missionary, religious festivals were visited, and five schools were maintained. In 1826 the Society had great hopes of Benares' 650,000 inhabitants. However, by the end of the century, in his centenary history of the LMS, Richard Lovett stated what was hinted at in Annual Reports and spelt out more clearly in correspondence to and from the field - that throughout the century progress in this northern District was consistently slower and less striking than in the South. Although missionaries describe themselves as busily involved in many different areas - itinerating, teaching, and serving as pastors to the European and native population - when pushed to provide detail regarding how they actually spent every day, it became apparent that male LMS missionaries in Benares spent a great deal of their time on efforts which did not result in contact with a great number of Indians. They had established Union Chapel (for European expatriates), were translating and printing parts of the Bible and religious tracts, and had established several academic institutions at the High School and College level across in the mission.[15] While their argument was that these tasks were essential to mission work, all this groundwork seems to have been established without the funds or manpower to make good on the investment. Focusing manpower and fiscal resources this narrowly became problematic when rival local and government schools poached students, and when their reliance on government grants-in-aid forced the mission to limit its religious curriculum. By 1899 Lovett described progress in Benares and Mirzapur as "hardly discernible", referring at least in part to the fact that by the 1890s the LMS Christian community consisted exclusively of members of the Native Christian staff and their families.

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[15]Neville, H.R. (1909) District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Vol. XXVI "Benares" (Allahabad).

Lovett was more charitable about the work done in smaller stations in the district, particularly those at Mangari, and Duddhi.[16] In these smaller centres, the churches had native congregations and long-serving native leadership. Duddhi in particular was relatively remote, situated in what was described as a jungle. Because of the apparent health risks it posed for Europeans as well as chronic staff shortages, the native leadership was allowed to work there unsupervised from an early stage. While the local missionaries expressed concern about this development, it was seen in a most positive light by the Directors, and was reported as one of the few accomplishments that could be mentioned about Northern India in the Annual Reports.

William Jones joined the LMS in 1858 and worked in Benares, Almora and Duddhi until his death in 1870. He seems to have had a very grounded sense of what was possible in a mission,

> it is not preaching, remember, but speaking to the people, because the use of the word "preaching" in connections misleads people. We do not preach as you do here: we simply talk to the people. Those people, through the agency that has been working there for three years, have begun to understand something, - to understand that there is a God different and above those hobgoblins they have been accustomed to worship, that there is a God different from tigers, and the leopards, and the bears, and snakes, and scorpions around them, which they worship because they are afraid of them.[17]

Jones' Report, delivered at Exeter Hall in 1868, provided LMS supporters with a positive example of the approach the LMS Directors were looking for. However, while Jones' colleagues expressed occasional interest in Duddhi, it is clear that none of them wished to give up the comfortable city lifestyles and prestigious work to move to the jungle. They did not appear to enjoy the type of one on one contact such work would entail. While the Directors referred to the necessity of encouraging manliness and independence in Native churches and native ministry,[18] by contrast, James Kennedy, (at this point working in Benares, and a fellow member of the BDC) spoke in disparaging terms of his native

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[16]Lovett, History, p.204; CWM NI(UP)C 6/2 C 25 J. Lambert to BDC, 25 February 1867.
[17]Lovett, History, pp.217-18.
[18]CWM Annual Reports, 1871 - 72 and 1873 - 74.

Christian congregation. In 1891 all the native staff at Benares signed a petition to stop one long-serving mission family from leaving Benares to serve in Duddhi. Their eighteen signatures are a unique treasure because unlike the European missionaries who left copious records the native workers are not very well represented in the archives. However, placed in the context of the deliberations of the Benares District Committee that year, this episode leaves the distinct impression of having been orchestrated for effect alone.[19] The female missionaries offered to work in the station, but this initiative was resisted until 1903. It was only after twenty years in India that Miss Gill was finally deemed capable of living and working in Duddhi by the Foreign Secretary to whom she had written the year before "I could go alone - do not ask THAT".[20] It required the intervention of the Foreign Secretary before the men on the District Committee would agree to send a lady off on her own, which is not surprising given their reticence over allowing women to live apart even in Benares. Women's struggle to be involved in more varied work in outlying stations was part of a more wide-ranging and longer-term process of women beginning to assume responsibilities in North India for which they were qualified. It also paralleled similar struggles to revise women's place in mission administration in the London-based offices.[21]

The stations mentioned thus far were all grouped in the south-east corner of the United Provinces, with Duddhi less than one hundred miles from its nearest neighbour, Mirzapur. These were situated almost equally distant between Calcutta, and the LMS stations in the far Northwest of the United Provinces. The Almora mission was established in the mountainous foothills of the Himalayas in 1850, and like the Scottish missions in Darjeeling, it benefited from the support of local tea plantation owners and managers, from local government, and from working in an area peopled by a dislocated population. Placed on the southern slopes of the Himalayas at 5000 feet, Almora was considered a prize locale for English missionaries suffering from heat further south on the plains. In the early years of the station this resulted in a frequent exchange of personnel between the Hill Stations and those on the plains, although certain workers at the station stayed in place for decades. This initial movement of personnel elicited complaints from both the

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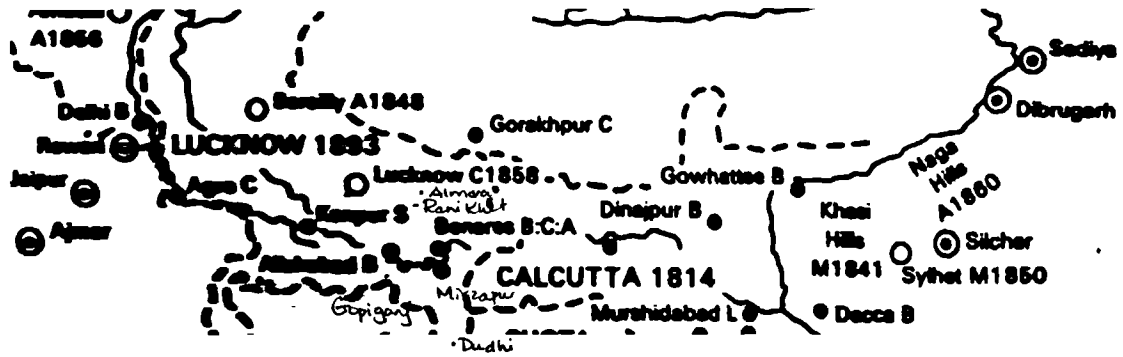
[19]CWM NI(UP)C 14b 1 'Native Staff' to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 18 March 1891.
[20]Ibid., 14a/3 Miss A. Gill to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 25 November 1890.
[21]Ibid., 14b 1 Miss A Marris to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 17 March 1891.

more permanent workers and local supporters regarding continuity of work.

For several reasons the LMS North India work in the United Provinces (NI(UP)) was administered as though two independent Districts. Two District Councils, one for Almora and Rani Khet (ADC) and one for Benares, Mirzapur and the smaller station to the south (BDC) met separately, but they were expected to confer with each other by post. Distance, and difficulties in travel are the obvious reasons behind this fissure but there were others. Almora was supported on locally raised funds, resulting in a situation where the LMS was forced to listen to the wishes of the local subscribers. At times they influenced the mission to go in different directions from those taken in Benares and Mirzapur. These Hill



Map 2: LMS Mission Stations in the United Provinces, c.1910

Stations also presented very different opportunities for work than existed in either Benares or Mirzapur. The services offered by the LMS in Almora were not in direct competition with other missions as they were in the larger urban centres, and the leper asylum offered them a secured constituency. The local military establishment also seems to have been sympathetic to their work, and when the government moved Gurkha regiments and their families into the Almora region first in 1846 and then permanently in 1859, members of that community worked as evangelists for the mission.[22] In Benares and Mirzapur the presence of other missions influenced workers to make decisions based on prestige. Further pressure came from the perceived need to satisfy an urban population with a sophisticated appetite for what various missions had to offer. However, while the LMS did not face competition within Almora itself, other missions were operating in the area, and it was at least in part due to the spirit of competition with American Methodists

[22]Ibid., 17 2 E. Oakley to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 30 June 1902; 17 2 E. Turner to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 31 July 1902. Also see: Walton, Gazetteer "Almora", pp.187-206.

and the SPG (working in the cantonment) that the LMS opened the Rani Khet Station in 1869, on a hill close enough to Almora that the missionaries could see each others' lights at night.[23] Finally, personality clashes came to a head on several occasions, and differences of opinion over staffing decisions and the direction the mission should take resulted in occasional fissures.

Rani Khet is interesting for its illustration of several points about LMS actions. It was begun in 1869 by James Kennedy, and exemplifies all that can be wrong in a church based administrative apparatus. While the LMS Directors, working through the Benares District Committee, planned to set up another station in the 1860s, they were not pleased with either the location or the character of what was established at Rani Khet. The problems which developed over this station were usually couched in polite terms, but sometimes provoked quite vitriolic discussions. The discussions surrounding the efficacy of mission method and personnel serve to illustrate how slim could be the reasoning behind such a major investment of mission resources, how difficult it was for the Directors to prevent such problems, and how difficult it was for them to extricate themselves from a new "work" once it had been established. In this case inter-station rivalry added to personal animosity. In addition, the obstinate personality of a missionary who valued comfort and prestige too much had disastrous long term results.

Both James Kennedy and his wife seem to have been difficult people with whom to deal. While this might seem a trite comment, in a small mission station with few Europeans, "getting along" was a particular problem at various times in Almora, Duddhi and Mirzapur. However, it was one which the Scottish churches saw as important enough for the Women's Training Institute to address it as part of its training of mission candidates. Letters indicate that the Kennedys first insisted on being allowed to move to Almora for health reasons, but then they did not want to leave.[24] By this time Henry Budden, the senior permanent missionary in Almora had wearied of Kennedy as a colleague who professed a commitment to evangelistic activity yet spent no time itinerating outside Almora, refused to share services and teaching responsibilities in town, and in discussions

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[23]Ibid., 7 1/B 19 J. Kennedy to J. Mullens, 8 June 1869.
[24]Ibid., 6 1 A/78 J. Kennedy to J. Mullens, 23 November 1866 (on leaving Benares); 6 3/B 18 R. Mather to J. Mullens, 15 May 1868 (unpleasantness between Kennedy and Budden).

with the Benares District Committee, suggested that a younger, more active man was needed for the job.[25] Budden's complaints to the BDC regarding Kennedy could have indicated a lack of discretion on his part, but this does not seem to have been the case. On this occasion as others Budden did not shirk from stating the difficult when necessary. Letters were exchanged between Almora and Benares. From Benares, Mather and Hewlett accused Budden of focusing on schools at the expense of more direct work and recommended that grants-in-aid not be accepted from the government, while Budden attempted to have the native clergy put on the District Committee.[26] On several occasions the Foreign Secretary was forced to become involved, chastising Kennedy for rude and aggressive language and behaviour.

Kennedy did not leave Almora to return to Benares, but instead was allowed to proceed with a new station in Rani Khet. Budden changed his mind, revealing his own ambitions for the region. When it appeared as though the American Episcopal Methodists were planning to move in on the planned extension, the Kennedys represented the least offensive, locally available choice, at the time.[27] As a result, Kennedy and his wife were left to set up a mission. In retrospect, it seems perfectly obvious that Budden was correct in lobbying for William Jones to work with him rather than the older, unhealthy Kennedys.[28] For them, manning a new station without permanent buildings and travelling to outlying areas was an impossibility. Situating the new mission close to Almora did not maximise the amount of territory that could be covered, but perhaps it was the best compromise which could be reached between the station factions. While the Kennedys were no longer living in Almora, they were close enough that Budden and not Mather and Hewlett could supervise their activity. Further, the Rani Khet site was chosen at least in part because of the new military cantonment on the site. This was important because it meant roads were going to access the area, and development was promised;[29] but all this actually hindered work with the local population. Kennedy finally situated the mission as close to the cantonment as was possible given the fact that he was banned from the actual site. He spent most of his time working with troops stationed in the area, and set up a

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[25]Ibid., 6 3/D 57 H. Budden to J. Mullens, 24 September 1868.
[26]Ibid., 6 1/E/116 BDC Minutes, 5, 6 March 1867, J. Hewlett report and 4 June H. Budden comments.
[27]Ibid., 6 3/D 50 H. Budden to J. Mullens, 29 April 1868.
[28]Ibid., 6 3/D 37 H. Budden to J. Mullens, 15 September 1868.
[29]Ibid., 6 3/D 50 H. Budden to J. Mullens, 29 April 1868.

chapel "in the Presbyterian style of worship".[30] Kennedy reported that the non-conformist troops, mainly Scottish Presbyterians, stationed in Rani Khet appreciated a chaplain, and even the local Punjabi troops were "remarkably free from prejudice".[31] However, this emphasis on the military establishment was a far stretch from the mandate of the LMS. The existence of a station like Rani Khet was particularly problematic given the long-standing official government policy aimed at maintaining order by preserving indigenous societies. The Government of India banned missionaries from proselytising in sepoy regiments, a policy which had been made clear in a meeting in Mirzapur between the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-west Provinces, William Muir, and a local LMS missionary, Matthew Sherring, in 1869.[32] As a result of this official line, Kennedy would have been seriously limited in any efforts he made to work with sepoys, although he never pretended to do so. Similarly he did not spend much time supervising the schools he was meant to have established in outlying areas, a fact for which he seemed to have a ready set of excuses.[33]

The Kennedys enjoyed their position away from the eyes of their mission colleagues for several years, and the LMS supported the station. It became clear that despite criticisms of his colleagues' work, Kennedy was unable to put into place a systematic method of setting up and visiting schools or itinerating, preferring instead to emulate the resort-style life of Simla.[34] Since subsequent workers were unable to develop the station any more satisfactorily, the LMS turned the station over to Methodists in 1898.[35] This story of Rani Khet illustrates what was a source of frustration for the mission- once involved in a station, they were often obliged, out of precedent, to maintain something that should never have been established in the first place. Lovett understated the situation when commenting on Rani Khet: "Although much earnest labour has been devoted to the mission, it has never attained its hoped for success...."[36] Elsewhere it was unequivocally

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[30]Ibid., J. Kennedy to J. Mullens 7 2/B 18, 30 April 1870 (not allowed to build in cantonment); 7 2 C/33, 6 September 1870 (opening his chapel).
[31]Ibid., 7 2 C 34 J. Kennedy to J. Mullens, 12 September 1870.
[32]Ibid., 7 1/B/21 M. Sherring Report 25 June 1869; Peers, Douglas M. (1995) Between Mars and Mammon: Colonial Armies and the Garrison State in India, 1819-1835 (London), pp.7-14.
[33]CWM NI(UP)C 7 2 C 33 J. Kennedy to J. Mullens, 6 September 1870.
[34]Ibid.
[35]Goodall, History, p.30.
[36]Lovett, History, p.207.

termed the feeblest station in all of India.[37]

3.2.2 The Forward Movement in the United Provinces

The Kachwa Mission burned briefly on the LMS map of North India between 1893 and 1928. It was the United Provinces' manifestation of the LMS Centenary Forward Movement, which was, in part, a response to the successes in fund-raising and recruitment experienced by the CIM. In particular, it was the result of one man's response to the challenge presented by that movement. It appears to have developed more along the lines of the work at Almora (though it took on a less institutional form), and directly opposite to the record of the Kennedys in Rani Khet two decades earlier. Almora and Rani Khet were each situated in military establishments in the foothills, but their similarities stopped there. The Almora missionaries struck a balance between establishing a station which met the needs of the town's European population (a chapel and English schools to train civil administrators) and the local population both in town (High Schools and Colleges, homes for orphans and widows and the leper asylum) and in the 'Bhot' country surrounding the town (primary schools and medical care). There was no European constituency in Kachwa, and the missionaries focused on the population at hand.

Robert Ashton, the moving spirit behind the Kachwa Mission, was the son of another LMS missionary, J.P. Ashton, who taught in the Bhowanipore Institute in Calcutta for forty years between 1860 and 1900.[38] His dedication to the mission cause as well as the support his work received from several members of his family indicate the powerful influence the Blackheath school, like Walthamstow, played in reinforcing the importance of missions on the children of missionaries.[39] Educated at University College London and then in Edinburgh, Robert was active in the University Student Volunteer Movement, just after Dr. J.A. Graham, the Presbyterian missionary who so successfully expanded the mission in Kalimpong in the 1890s. Ashton joined the LMS in 1891 as a medical missionary, and served in Benares and Almora briefly before beginning the Kachwa Mission at the end of 1893 along with Edwin Greaves, who by that time had been an LMS

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[37]CWM Deputation Report of 1883, quoted in Lovett, History, p.220.
[38]CWM LMS Register of Missionaries, Deputations, etc. from 1796-1923 no. 554 J.P. Ashton (1859 - 1900) and no. 925 Robert Ashton (1891 - 1929).
[39]Buettner, "Families and Memories", pp.233-36.

missionary for over twenty years.[40] Their plan was to "plant a new mission right out in the country among the presumably simpler village folk, and to make Medical Mission work a prominent feature of the mission".[41] The works of Graham, Ashton, and the local Welsh Presbyterian mission in the Khasi Hills established in the 1880s, each share the characteristics of evangelical revival - emphasising the importance of the social 'good works' of lay workers to evangelical activity.[42] Ashton opened a tent dispensary at Kachwa in 1893 and built a small hospital the following year while Greaves occupied himself five miles away in Jammu. However, while Almora was able to rely on funds from local supporters, Kachwa's isolated locale meant isolation as well from easily accessed local fund-raising networks. In 1895 the mission was temporarily disbanded and Greaves returned to his work in Benares while Ashton was recalled to England. Ashton was able to call on a powerful personality and family networks to raise support. By 1897 he had persuaded the Directors to allow him to re-open what had become a personal mission, a specially supported work, long after such independent projects were considered a benefit. That year he converted an old Indigo Factory into a Hospital. Mission records indicate that his sister was active in raising money in High Barnet and his in-laws in Reading. As in the Scottish case in Darjeeling described in the next chapter, Sunday Schools and Youth Clubs were encouraged in a sense of 'ownership' by their naming of individual hospital cots in Kachwa supported by their funds.[43]

The work done at Kachwa explicitly attempted to create a self-supporting Christian community, aside from the hospital, because the mission was very aware of the dangers of creating communities which relied too heavily on the mission. While, for instance, Mangari and Duddhi had been held up as example of what was successful in North India, by 1901 the missionaries were worried about how those communities were developing. Horace Theobald, a Congregational pastor who had joined the mission in 1892 and left the LMS to stay in the area with the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society in 1926, expressed concern about several issues in 1901. These included the lack of staff and the

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[40]CWM LMS Register of Missionaries no. 777 Edwin Greaves.
[41]CWM India Odds/Kacchwa Mission Records 21. p.i.
[42]Fiedler, Faith Missions, p.114; Williams, Nerys Wendon (1990), "The Welsh Calvinist Methodist Mission in Assam", (London), p.38.
[43]CWM NI(UP)C 16/2 "Special Contributions to Kachwa Medical Work " in T. Insell Minutes of Special BDC 19, 20 April 1899.

distribution of that staff. More importantly, he also pointed out how his "young lads" had become adults, but continued to look to him for food and clothing; "in this district this industrial problem is ever with us".[44] Two years later another missionary made similar complaints about the situation which had been allowed to develop in Duddhi where there was

> constant appeal and dependence on the missionaries as "Ma Bap" who hold the keys to a never-ending cash box and the power to provide work for all sorts of people without the slightest difficulty. This crushes independent effort or initiative for their welfare.... to make it easy for the thriftless, the wantonly ignorant and incompetent to live, just because they are nominal or actual Christians, is to my mind demoralising in the extreme, and must be discontinued.[45]

However, missionaries inspired by revivals of the last decades of the nineteenth century retained a two-fold commitment to the industrial or social side of mission works. The reality remained that the individuals touched by the Christian message were often those most socially needy in society, whether the result of their conversion experience or because of their status as 'tribals', 'untouchable' or as being 'low caste'. Missionaries brought to this reality their commitment that evangelical purpose was linked to secular good works, and a sense that it was through service they themselves were empowered.[46] Mission workers in turn sought to empower the people they came into contact with by helping them create the circumstances under which they could transform their own lives, a "social application of the gospel integral to broad evangelicalism".[47] The following description of the work at Kachwa highlights how the changing evangelical beliefs and secular skills of newer members of the mission caused them to approach their task, and address criticisms of the results of older work, with new understanding and purpose.

Ashton and Greaves went ahead with their vision despite their reservations about the results of this type of village work. In its prime (roughly 1900-1920) their mission boasted primary schools and a chapel, and in addition to the usual teachers and catechists, other

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[44]Ibid., 17 1 H. Theobald to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 9 May 1901.
[45]Ibid., 16 3 J. Jensen to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 9 May 1901; 17 1 H. Theobald to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 6 February 1903.
[46]Fiedler, Faith Missions, p.214.
[47]Stanley, Brian (1996), "Manliness and Mission: Frank Lenwood and the LMS", *JURCHS*, 5(8), p.458-477.

local workers were trained to work in the hospital as Nurses, Compounders and Dispensers. Many of these had degrees from LMS Training Institutions or others, the details of which are not recorded.[48] However, work done at the hospital was not purely scientific. In 1893 it was reported that a service was held outside where all the patients and their families were waiting before Clinic began,[49] and services were held on the Wards as well. In 1905 a Leper Hospital was set up, and although in the same year nearby villages petitioned the mission to open more dispensaries, and offered to provide land, the mission could not afford to build and staff any more work.

The records for this mission were scrupulously kept. Survey maps, and the various revisions of plans for the two hospitals are available, each one smaller as Ashton tried to keep the mission going despite limited funding. Ashton seemed almost to revel in the demands put on him, like designing a compound which could isolate the Lepers for health reasons yet maintain their membership of the community. He acted as a landlord, collected rent and in turn paid the local *zemindar* his share under the terms of the mission's two thousand year lease. In 1915 one of the newer missionaries was put in charge of starting a Co-operative Bank Society in an attempt to allow for 'responsible' economic freedom from local pressures as well as mission dependence.[50] The missionaries seem to have been constantly looking for ways to enable their constituents to have better lives while avoiding the dependence created in the earlier attempts, such as Duddhi, to create Christian communities. They were also committed to providing Christian service in an Indian manner. The hospital and chapels were simply built using local materials. They were operated in a manner which made sense in the context, including keeping doors and windows open day and night, allowing patients' families and friends to stay with them, and using local-style bed and blankets.[51] Ashton even experimented with water treatment although this backfired when his efforts started a

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[48]A compounder seems to be a type of junior doctor, and underwent different training than a hospital assistant. While their training would have prepared them to staff the travelling hospital, (medicine, pharmacy, first aid, minor surgery and anaesthesia) in the Kachwa records compounders are referred to as working in the hospital. See: CWM India Odds/Kachwa Mission Records 21 p. 6.
[49]Ibid., 21 p.2.
[50]Ibid., p.17.
[51]The importance of constructing in a locally appropriate manner is discussed in Perry, "History of Expansion", p.81.

rumour that the missionaries were poisoning wells.[52]

The Kachwa Mission stands out amongst the other work being done by the LMS in the United Provinces, and in Benares and Mirzapur, both in the large educational institutions and by women teaching, supervising schools and acting as 'lady visitors'. The Almora mission was similar to Kachwa in the type of work done, but the 'style' of the Almora mission, its buildings and staff, its attitudes towards patient care, the level of health care and education it provided, and the manner in which the work in general, but particularly relations with local Christians, were described, all were refocussed at Kachwa, to more closely knit the evangelical aim of the missionaries with the needs of the local population, both on an institutional level, and in terms of personal relationships formed. Its founder, Robert Ashton, represents the new breed of missionaries. Like Dr. Graham of Kalimpong, Ashton was an individual who worked hard to follow both the letter and spirit of the mission endeavour. As indicated by local villages' willingness to support the work of the mission, the services they had to offer were well received in the community. Ashton was aware of debates over the efficacy of the work, and summed up his position in response to what he saw as Indian Nationalists attempting to use social service to their ends,

> To us Christian workers philanthropic effort is the fruit, not the root. But by your fruits shall ye be known. Maybe when it is seen that we are steadily doing that about which they for the most part only yearn and talk, our efforts among the lower may not leave the highest untouched and uninfluenced. Let us all then be all things right and helpful to all men, if by any means we may save some.[53]

He had come to believe in what Henry Budden had been contemplating in 1868, that while the Christian message was still paramount, the missionary could best exemplify Christian example by offering a service, gladly and to his full ability, no matter what the consequence.[54]

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[52]CWM India Odds/Kachwa Mission Records p.133, 1902.
[53]Ibid., 1920.
[54]CWM NI(UP)C 6 3/D 48 H. Budden reporting on the DC meeting and responding to criticisms of his methods, n.d.

3.2.3 The End of the Mission

In 1929 the mission's chronic inability to finance and staff the work adequately resulted in the almost total withdrawal from the United Provinces so that its work could be concentrated in South India. The Mirzapur work was transferred to the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (Anglican). Mangari and Gopigunj were taken over by the Pilgrim Holiness Mission (American interdenominational) and in 1926 the American Methodist Episcopal Mission (later the Methodist Church in Southern Asia) took over Almora. The British Methodists acquired Benares, except for women's work which went to the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission. The BCMS supported work being done by the last LMS missionary and his wife in Kachwa from 1928 until 1938 when the station was closed for good.[55]

The decision to close the mission was justified in economic terms, although many factors contributed to the decision. These will come out later in this chapter as the personnel, projects and administration of the mission are discussed. The basic problem was that missionaries in the North did not seem to make many converts. This meant that they attracted fewer staff and less money from the mission, which in a self-perpetuating manner resulted in a situation where too few people were trying to cover too much work. Staff were moved around frequently leaving stations without the leadership of a missionary. That led to a further problem in that the group of missionaries who came to dominate in Benares and to a lesser extent in Almora, were very reticent about training Native staff. They refused them any degree of authority and independence in their work, and fought hard against allowing them to take positions on mission councils. They even hindered local church growth by refusing to allow for ordained or lay leadership roles in their own newly established churches. Frank Lenwood, visited the United Provinces as part of an independent tour of Asia in 1908, prior to working in the area for two years between 1909 and 1911 and then becoming LMS Foreign Secretary in 1912 (a position which he held until 1925). He described the situation as he saw it,

> The problem of problems has yet to be faced, that of contact with the Indians. Relations are good here, but as elsewhere a little impersonal and the Indian, as things stand here, is bound to feel that his fiddle is the

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[55]Goodall, History, p.15.

> second. So much of the Christian activity issues from the big bungalow. In the ordinary mission, were I an Indian I should as soon think of becoming a Christian as I should think of giving my conscience into the keeping of a duke or a millionaire, if I were in England. God help us to get nearer.[56]

As part of what must have been a difficult visit he worked with the District Committee, the male members of which had vigorously resisted allowing women to join previously, in an attempt to get them to reform this administrative body and give over some control. The Council agreed to allow nominal membership of native Christians, but they bulwarked their position by creating sub-committees, including one with European members only.[57] They also agreed that all correspondence to the Board should go through the committee, and that they would not begin new mission work without the approval of the board. While these might seem quite natural decisions they appear more remarkable seen chronologically. The Board made a first attempt to create functioning District Councils in 1860, and followed that up with a Revision and firming up of the policy in 1890, so it is amazing that Lenwood was still wrestling to obtain agreement from members to abide by these rules in 1910. The missionaries in Trivandrum similarly resisted changes to the structure of the mission,[58] but administrative anomalies were perhaps less of a problem in South India where high conversion rates looked good to subscribers, and there were converts enough to create thriving Christian communities which once established, came to rely less on missionaries.

3.3 The Importance of Mission Formation

This dissertation makes much of the manner in which missionaries were schooled to be individuals by their families, by the society they lived in, and perhaps most importantly by the religious culture in which their attitudes and beliefs were formed. It is important to understand these processes, and to understand exactly the types of individuals who wished to be missionaries and who the missions looked to hire. It is equally important to look at these individuals and their importance when they worked in their vocation. This is more

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[56]CWM NI(UP)C 20 2 F. Lenwood to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 23 December 1910 (notes to discuss administrative changes).
[57]Ibid., 21 1 LMS Calcutta Committee Bye-laws 1910.
[58]Haggis, "Professional Women", p.349.

easily accomplished with those who served for longer periods of time or as administrators, those involved in controversies, and generally, those were men. It is often easier to find out about certain aspects of the individuals' lives as well. For example, in all three missions in this study there is an abundance of information about new buildings which were labour and capital intensive. However, details about the day to day lives of missionaries, their personal beliefs and faith practices and the manner in which they tried to convey those to other people are not so easily accessed. While this dissertation is interested in processes and larger scale interactions, these all depend on the individuals involved in the mission, and it is to these people that focus will now shift.

This study focuses on women between 1880 and 1910, and because there is such a wealth of information about the LMS stations, it is not only necessary but possible to develop a picture of the mission stations which had grown up prior to the arrival of single women, and into which they had to fit. As pointed out by several studies looking at the role women have played in missions, women's work certainly did not begin with the arrival of the single ladies, and the change-over from wives and daughters to single professional ladies was not without its difficulties. This is because the different categories of women saw the world and their work in different ways, and because male missionaries had been used to interacting with women of the mission in a manner which subsequently became inappropriate. This section will introduce some of the mission's personnel. There are names which stand out in any mission, and the LMS work in the United Provinces is no exception. It will then look at specific aspects of the mission work and offer an analysis of the field as a whole.

To the previous discussion about the training and background of these women, this chapter now adds an analysis of the type of work they embarked upon once they arrived in India. Specific questions regarding the role that family dynasties played in this area, changes which took place in the kind of work undertaken by the mission, and administrative developments will then be discussed, giving heed to the roles played by specific individuals in those matters. The important question of how men and women described their faith and work will be introduced in terms of the LMS. For the sake of clarity detailed comparison with members of the CIM and the Church of Scotland Mission will be made in Chapter VI.

3.3.1 Changing Mission Staff

Thirty-six male missionaries were active in the United Provinces during this period as compared to twenty-eight women. Twenty-one of these men began their service prior to the 1880s when women were not being hired by the mission. However, if the wives, daughters and the occasional sister of the male missionaries were counted, these figures would be quite different. This section first introduces the men who, on the evidence of letters and Reports home, seem to have had the greatest influence on the direction of the mission. The specific roles they played in the mission as it struggled to contend with administrative directives, changing theology and lack of success will emerge later.

An early group of male missionaries served in the United Provinces for long periods of time, and were influential in deciding what sort of work should be a focus. As well they set the 'tone' in terms of attitudes towards native workers, the role women should assume in mission affairs, and with regard to administrative reforms. These men also chose to focus their work on the provision of secondary schools in an attempt to attract the citizens of Benares and Mirzapur. However, when the Government of India's revision of the grants-in-aid scheme forced all religious training in their High Schools and Colleges to be made optional, it was difficult to argue that the LMS, when faced by financial restraint, should continue to support the resulting secular institutions.

Among them were William Buyers, John Shurman and John Budden. William Buyers, born in Dundee, gave Aberdeen as his church home, but was trained at Hoxton Missionary College. He joined the mission in 1830 and began working in Benares. He remained with the mission until 1863, two years before his death. Robert Mather was an ordained minister who was educated in Scotland, joined the LMS in 1833, and began the mission at Mirzapur. He was active in translation work and opened the Union Chapel there. Like many of the missionaries, his wife was also an active mission worker, setting up schools for girls in Mirzapur. They also served at Benares, and for a short while in Almora before their retirement in 1875. John Shurman worked in Benares and Calcutta for almost twenty years before his death in 1852, although his name hardly ever figured in mission records. James Kennedy was also Scottish, trained in the Glasgow Theological Academy, and before his infamous Rani Khet experiment, he worked in Benares with his

wife. John Budden has already been mentioned; he was a Londoner educated at Western College and served at Benares and Mirzapur before completing the bulk of his forty-six year career in Almora.

After this initial flurry of hiring, these old men of the mission were joined by several others who served for less than ten years. At that time they were joined by Matthew Sherring, who was married to one of the Mather's daughters. After post-graduate training from University College London he was ordained when he joined the mission in 1852 to superintend the mission's Central (vernacular) school in Benares. He remained in India until his death in 1891, and wrote a number of books on Benares.[59] John Hewlett was the only male missionary sent to the District in the 1860s who served for any length of time. He survived three wives while teaching at the High Schools at Benares, Mirzapur and Almora and at Allahabad University in Benares, between 1861 and 1892. Thomas Insell worked in the two large centres and Rani Khet for a relatively long tenure, from 1873 until 1910, but he seems to have been one to keep his head down and do his job. The one event that stands out in his career was that he married the first woman missionary to be sent to the area barely a year after her arrival, and after only three years of his employment. She died within five months of their marriage.

It was ten years after Insell before another male missionary was sent directly to work in the District, although in the 1870s two missionaries were transferred to Almora, in part, for health reasons. The male missionaries who joined the work in the United Provinces in the 1880s appear to be different from those who came earlier, perhaps because they were influenced by Holiness teaching, and perhaps they had been accepted by the mission with the understanding that new methods were needed in the United Provinces. However, this change did not take effect for another two decades because those appointed were overwhelmed by the patterns of work already well established by very senior missionaries with strong personalities. As a result they failed to put their beliefs into practice. Edwin Greaves exemplifies this; educated at the CMS Institute in Islington and at Western

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[59]Sherring noted the citizens of Benares were "noted for their superior education", echoing the complaint that the religiously sophisticated urbanites were simply uninterested in what the missionaries had to offer them. See: Sherring, Rev. J. (1868) Benares The Sacred City of the Hindus in Ancient and Modern Times, (Delhi) p.146.

College, the language he used to describe his beliefs and call to mission chimes in better with the CIM candidates in this study, than the generally more staid LMS candidates. Never an outstanding worker, Greaves experienced difficulties passing the newly instituted language examinations. In 1912 Frank Lenwood, from his experience in the UP mission, still described Greaves as a "weak link".[60] He was good enough for the BDC though. Greaves recovered from his initial language problems and spent a decade doing translation work while serving as Principal of the LMS Colleges in Benares, until he left civilisation and went with Robert Ashton to begin the Kachwa station. He appears to have been returning to the evangelical roots of his student days and Ashton gave him the opportunity to give his belief social application. At the end of the 1880s Edward Oakley joined the mission. He also employed the rhetoric of holiness, but in his private life he was not always honest with himself or the mission. Between 1888 and 1928 he ran up debts on several occasions while he and his wife lived a grand lifestyle of which other missionaries disapproved. He used mission funds to pay off his debts while he worked at Ramsay College and superintended the Leper Asylum at Almora. Arthur Parker attended Lancashire College and joined the mission in 1887. He opened new hostels and boarding schools, and he and his wife were committed to offering basic vernacular and Industrial Education to pupils in order that they learn a skill to support themselves after their mission education. His wife continued a close correspondence with a local mystic, an Indian Christian, well into the 1920s. Robert Ashton, whose work was described in the previous section, joined the mission in 1891. Three men joined him in 1892, all ordained, two trained at Cheshunt College and one at Lancashire College. They each served the mission until it was closed, and it was these individuals with whom the LMS was forced to negotiate administrative reforms.

Elgar Evans, a Baptist and graduate of Edinburgh University, and another mission child, joined the Kachwa mission in 1903 for a relatively short time. Daniel Evans, a graduate of Owen's College, worked as an evangelist for twenty years in Mirzapur after his marriage to one of the Almora workers. The one missionary with a Salvation Army background in this study, James Chadwick, worked in the mission off and on for thirty-one years after he

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[60]CWM NI(UP)C 12 2/B 19 D. Hutton to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 28 June 1884; 21 3 F. Lenwood to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 26 March 1912.

joined it in 1905. He experienced mental health problems during his tenure in Duddhi, but recovered and became head of the Benares United City Mission, for which he received a Kaiser-i-Hind medal from the Indian government. He was the only male missionary in the study to be so recognised. He married an Indian woman who worked with him. Frank Lenwood worked in Benares from 1909 until shortly before his appointment as Foreign Secretary in 1912. Finally, the last two male missionaries to arrive in Benares during this period were both Congregationalists. John Grant trained at Hackney College and worked in villages with the Chamars, a low caste group. After his schooling at Cheshunt College and then Cambridge, Herbert Newell worked for a short while in Benares before the mission closed.

The first women posted to the United Provinces were hired in the 1870s. The first married a colleague almost immediately, announcing her marriage as "an unforeseen and unexpected event which will not hinder my work, though it may give a somewhat different turn to it".[61] The others were the relatives of missionaries already serving in the province; Elizabeth Mather wished to stay in India after her husband's death and was hired by the mission, and two of the Budden girls received small allowances beginning in 1874. It was not until the 1880s that the LMS began to hire women in any numbers. Seven of these were sent to the United Provinces, where they were joined by three more women who were the daughters of local missionaries. Two married within five years, but of those remaining, one died of cancer after fourteen years service, and the seven others worked for between twenty and thirty years each.[62] This belies the stereotype of women missionaries as simply seeking a partner although this eventuality concerned the Ladies Committee who had definite rules about candidates paying the passage money back to the mission if they married within five years of their appointment.[63] Of the seven women hired in London in the 1890s, only one was related to a male missionary in the area. Sister and brother Rose and Horace Theobald travelled to Benares together in 1892 and they lived together until she married a missionary supported by the Sunday School Union, in 1900.[64] Ten more women were hired in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

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[61]CWM NI(UP)C 9 3/D 34 E. Tubbs to J. Mullens, 29 September 1876.
[62]Ibid., 17 1, J. Hewlett to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 30 September 1901 (about surgery for cancer; she died one year later in Almora).
[63]CWM CP 1 12 no. 964 Emogene Ardill, Example of Application, n.d.
[64]CWM NI(UP)C 16 3 Miss R. Theobald to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 13 December 1900.

The first cohort of these women functioned under the general expectation that they must be lady-like individuals "unmarried ladies of education". This expectation was shared by both the mission and most candidates, who believed that "female agents of any other class would be out of place".[65] The first single women were required to carry on the work begun by the unpaid women of the previous generation. Expectations of them were put forward in mission literature in various forms - magazine articles, advertisements and fictional accounts of the lives of lady missionaries, which in a self-perpetuating process were received by an audience quite ready to believe that domestic skills were intuitive female accomplishments.[66] They were hired to act as teachers, lady visitors or medical personnel, although exactly what function a woman would perform in each of these jobs needs further exploration, since at times their letters and reports indicate this generation of women hired in the 1880s more often supervised the work of local women in these roles. As one put it, "she goes three days a week to the Zenanas, and is teaching in the two schools (callisthenics and sewing making them a bit more popular).... She was greatly pleased to see how well some of the scholars could read".[67] This explains how each could be in charge of such large numbers of schools and responsible for many pupils, and have had time to write all the letters reporting their activities and requesting funding. They were also absolutely dependent on local bible women for house visiting since it required an average of two years for workers to become linguistically proficient.

No professionally qualified women doctors or nurses were hired to work in the United Provinces during this period. The LMS had begun employing such women in China and in Calcutta and later Jiaganj where there were large medical institutions. In the United Provinces, female medical missionaries provided the type of 'first aid' railed against by increasingly professional training bodies, which at this time felt that such women passing themselves off as medical people harmed both women's work and the western medical profession in general.[68] That this was viewed as a problem by the missionaries themselves can be seen from the comments of several of the missionaries in 1887 at a time when they

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[65] Ibid., 9 2 A/8, J. Lambert to J. Mullens, 19 March 1875.
[66]Burton, Burdens of History, p.301; Kirkwood, "Protestant Women", pp.32-34.
[67]CWM NI(UP)C 13 3/B 57 J. Taylor to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 7 February 1887.
[68]Burton, "Contesting the Zenana," 368-397.

were pressuring the mission to send them a trained female doctor. The Almora community pointed out that the local population was quite aware of the difference between "amateur relief and professional doctoring," and that it was unfair to patients "to profess to be a doctor from England, sent by a respected mission, and yet not have the training represented by the diplomas".[69] Henry Coley (Almora, 1877-1890) and others reported the local experience of women associated with the mission. Each had several years of hospital training, yet each was afraid actually to perform any sort of meaningful medical function. This discussion underlines how difficult it was for the mission to assess what sort of training women had acquired in a time when expectations varied from hospital to hospital. Some of these comments also underline the perceived difference between the professional science of medicine, and the type of medical advice offered by lady visitors to women in their homes. One of the Budden daughters, Annie, travelled to study with an American lady doctor in 1875, and she "by means of this plans to get access to houses".[70] This is the kind of indirect good provided by the amateur relief and doctoring described by Coley in his letter of 1887, and exactly the kind of work complained of by the English professional medical bodies. This type of medical-work is similar to the function of Lady Health Visitors in the beginning of the twentieth century.[71] While it is the fully trained pioneering female mission doctors whose work is often the focus of study, many more women in this period had training which prepared them to offer para-medical advice.

In 1875 the men on the Benares District Committee recorded their expectations of the role female agents would take on in the mission. Like the ladies of the CMS and the married ladies of the LMS previous, they should do house visits. However, in opposition to the rhetoric of seclusion which became so prevalent in wider mission circles, the men acknowledged that "the female members of [the middle and lower classes] are not secluded in Zenanas," and female agents should therefore instead hold mothers' meetings, make village visits, work in female schools and set up orphanages.[72] The men differed in their opinions as to what function women should have in terms of committee activity. The

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[69]CWM NI(UP)C 13 3/B 69 H. Coley and 13 3/B 70 Miss M. Budden, each to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 19 August 1887.
[70]Ibid., 9 2/D 42, H. Budden to J. Mullens, 16 February 1875.
[71]Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood", p.87.
[72]CWM NI(UP)C 9 2 A/8 J. Lambert to J. Mullens, 19 March 1875.

struggles between them and the new female missionaries who carefully advocated a more varied role continued throughout the period of this study.

Certain women worked within the system, fighting for their rights within the local mission circle, or when this failed, turned to the Foreign Secretary for help. In 1887 as a relatively new worker, Ada Marris deferred to Edwin Greaves. She asked him to forward her correspondence to the Foreign Secretary (the correct procedure not adhered to by anyone else at this time). She coyly ends her letter with "I am afraid I have not said what I wanted to say very clearly, perhaps one of the gentlemen will draw up a formal resolution".[73] She is either very unlike her sister Rose, or a very canny manipulator of men. After ten years in India Rose Marris used her knowledge of Committee rules, and presumably of her male colleagues to agitate for the role on the District Committee she knew the Society was prepared to let women assume. In an example of how rules could be subverted, in 1891 the men on the District Committee appointed themselves officers without allowing the women to vote. This was a move by which the men stopped women from staffing the Duddhi mission, something a woman was only allowed to do in the twentieth century.[74] Rose Marris was successful in her appeal to the Foreign Secretary. Greaves responded to the mission's direction that ladies be allowed their rightful say by threatening to remove his loyalty from the LMS. Two months later it is interesting to see the Committee's Note, that it was the Ladies' vote which forced them to write home to the mission over the correct methods to be employed in training and assessing Native workers. This was an important issue which some members did not want brought before the attention of the Directors, for the professed reason that it would look as though the missionaries were bickering. More probably they realised the discussion would make too obvious their antipathy to native Christians.[75]

The struggles that went on between women and men were not limited to women's formal mission roles. This highlights the complexity of the interaction between the private and public lives, and that the two should not be as rigorously demarcated as they have been in

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[73]Ibid., 13 3 A/34, A. Marris to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 6 August 1887.
[74]Ibid., 14b 1, R. Marris to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 17 March 1891.
[75]Ibid., 14b/2, BDC Committee Correspondence, J. Hewlett to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 8 October 1891.

previous discussions of women's growing professional status.[76] Women's work at home and outside the home had a direct bearing on each other, particularly in religious terms. In direct opposition to 'separate spheres ideology', home and work were almost one in terms of expectations of behaviour. The following example shows an older male missionary using petty grievances in an effort to control a new female recruit. In 1884 John Hewlett wrote home about Rose Marris, who was at the time living alone in Benares, since her sister with whom she travelled to India became ill almost immediately and was convalescing in Almora. As her senior male colleague, Hewlett felt it his duty to write to the Foreign Secretary to express the belief that she should not be living alone, but neither should she be living in the CMS compound.

> It seems almost as though our Society were supporting another lady missionary to the CMS at Benares.... My wife and I have felt bound to bring this matter seriously and repeatedly before MRM [Miss Rose Marris], for although our Regulations allow missionaries to make their own private arrangements for their residence, we feel that it is undoubtedly expected that they should in doing so with due regard to the interests of their mission. But our representations seem to produce no effect. Moreover the Benares District Committee does not seem to know how to deal with the subject, as it does not appear to fall under any one formal regulation...You should take the matter up.... You should not think that we are influenced by anything but kind Christian feelings towards Miss Rose Marris personally.[77]

This letter provides an opening to discuss several interesting points. Hewlett was attempting to use his senior position in the mission to control a single young female co-worker - and one who apparently had been resisting his efforts. It also offers evidence of how many missionaries used their correspondence to subvert the power of their local committee by appealing directly to the Directors through the Foreign Secretary. Hewlett states he is writing on behalf of himself and his wife, purportedly because the latter possessed the knowledge necessary to help a new colleague, and with only the best interests of the mission at heart. This could very well represent the tension which existed between the wives of missionaries and new single workers, as is expressed by another

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[76]Haggis, "Wives".
[77]CWM NI(UP)C 12/2/B J. Hewlett to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 10 December 1884.

missionary. "If a young lady is sent to do the work she receives a handsome salary. If my wife does it, we are landed in extra expenses, with no extra help. And if her help gives way, we find our expenditures increased...."[78] There is often a tone of complaint in the letters, and occasionally the Foreign Secretary admonishes a writer for employing an "un-Christian tone". The men in the mission may also have felt threatened by Miss Marris, who not only was living on her own, but had outshone Edwin Greaves when they both took the newly instituted language exams.[79] Four years later the issue of a single woman living on her own was brought up again, this time as a request for the Directors to send out another female worker to live with her, in order to avoid the

> many awkward occasions which arise - for instance it is not pleasant to sit for hours alone everyday with a native pundit in an empty house, and quite contrary to native ideas of propriety. This is only one instance out of many. I speak strongly on the subject as I have several trying experiences which I should be glad to save my successor.[80]

Other workers appealed for colleagues based on the amount of work to be done and some women made well-articulated appeals based on the importance of Christian companionship in the mission field. One daughter of a UP missionary family based her argument on an appeal to the weakness of women and notions of the sexual danger presented by native men, an argument directly opposite to that made by other enterprising women who at the same time were agitating for independent roles both in Britain and in the Empire, regardless of considerations of gender.

Certain exceptional women simply 'voted with their feet'. In the 1880s and 1890s, the CIM's call for women evangelists pushed at the limits of acceptability. While the LMS had space for some such ladies' work, the Society remained ambiguous about women's position as 'lady missionaries', as indicated by women remaining institutionally invisible. One very striking LMS missionary has been largely ignored. Ethel Turner had a well-connected mission background; two of her brothers worked for the LMS - one in Africa and one in China. She travelled to China independently and then worked on her own in

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[78]Ibid., 12/2/D 48 H. Coley to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 20 August 1884. This is also discussed in the context of South India in Haggis, "Professional Women".
[79]CWM NI(UP)C 12/2/B 19 D. Hutton to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 28 June 1884.
[80]Ibid., 14a/1 Miss J. Sherring to R. Wardlaw Thompson, July 1888.

North India for almost a decade before applying to the LMS for support in 1896.[81] She must have been an adroit language scholar, as after three years she was moved to Almora in the United Provinces to assist with the Boarding and School Facilities there. Although hired to give assistance in the mission compound in town, she ended up itinerating for at least half of each year for well over a decade, living out of tents and packing her belongings over dangerous mountain paths.[82] Although she lived and travelled with Miss Rutledge, a specially funded missionary friend, her reports were filled with detail about the work and lives of her native colleagues, their work successes, and their professional qualifications as doctors and teachers. They are also all named in full, unlike reports in which groups are referred to as 'young lads' or 'the bible woman'. She also refers to the health of their families.[83]

Given that the mission to the United Provinces had been described for decades as problematic, and in particular that self-interested missionaries failed to focus their work on the needs of their constituents and refused to entrust native Christians with important work, it is not difficult to explain why this work outside Almora was not trumpeted by the mission. In 1908 Ethel Turner experienced a 'nervous rundown' and had to travel to Switzerland to recover.[84] There is tantalisingly little information about this chapter in her life. Her independent, masculine lifestyle went against dependent, feminine roles being broadcast to female candidates. That she is quite absent from mission literature could be due to her 'special relationship' with the close female friend who lived and travelled with her. Missionaries' sexuality is a quietly recurring theme in both the records of the CIM and the LMS, indicating the human reality that missionaries could not always live up to the rigorous expectations of evangelical Protestantism. That this was simply ignored reflects an administrative feature common to many church organisations.

One more woman needs mention because she appears to have lived and worked in the province in an unusual manner. Henry Budden opened a second Leper Asylum outside of Almora that was quite quickly passed on to Methodists working in the area because of

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[81]CWM CP 39 48 no. 1048 Ethel Turner, Application, 10 October 1896.
[82]CWM NI(UP)C 16 1 Miss E. Turner to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 3 March 1898.
[83]Ibid., 17 2 Miss E. Turner to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 10 February 1902.
[84]Ibid., 20 1 BDC Report, November 1908.

funding problems. In 1903 there was some discussion at the DC level about a Miss Reed who was working there nominally under the supervision of a male missionary. In 1903 the Methodists in 1903 wrote about passing the supervision of the Asylum in Chandag on to the LMS. This Miss Reed was not hired in London which suggests she was a local Eurasian woman. It appears that she contracted Leprosy and felt that she could superintend the station as long as she remained in good enough health. It is also felt that if she could be "considered whole she should take leave, and as a healed and healthy person obtain the refreshment she so much needs from fellowship with others after almost fifteen years of exile". This is an intriguing episode that was never brought up again in any reports or letters.[85]

It is difficult to present an overall pattern for the remaining women hired to work in Benares and Almora in the 1890s and up until 1910, given their small numbers. It is too often difficult both to assess exactly what these women were doing and how representative they were of those in the mission as a whole. In Calcutta and its surrounding stations, women with professional qualifications, from universities and teaching hospitals, began to be hired in the 1890s to staff the modern hospitals and large educational institutes. It was not until 1904 that a fully qualified British female doctor was posted to Almora, and she was transferred there after having served elsewhere for three years, due to health problems.[86] In the United Provinces the women hired have roughly the same mixed educational background as they had in the previous decade, and only one daughter of a missionary was hired, in 1903, and that hiring was through regular channels in London. Despite the agitation certain of these women went through in order to take their place in decision-making in the mission, most of them continued on a trajectory of women's work begun by the wives of the male missionaries in the decades previous. They continued to visit Zenanas 'wherever possible', maintained schools for Eurasians and Christian girls but open to Muslim and Hindu girls; established boarding-schools and orphan asylums for the few children offered by their relatives or orphaned. Up until 1910 all mission wives continued to work in the mission. Some made more of a time commitment than others.

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[85]Ibid., 17 3 G. Bulloch to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 25 March 1903.
[86]CWM Register of Missionaries no. 1173 Eleanor Shepheard; CWM NI(UP)C 19 6 ADC Report, 28 March 1906.

After the turn of the century three of the women hired had University degrees and went on to superintend the girls' schools in Benares, Mirzapur and Almora. However the larger and more prestigious LMS Institutions were in Calcutta and so better educated women tended to be posted there. The one woman hired without a degree taught in elementary schools and continued with Zenana visitation. At this time the newer male members of the mission were moving away from Mirzapur and Benares to focus either on smaller scale evangelistic work in or in developing Christian village communities. They focused on small-scale projects with a focus on practical training. Other than the two exceptions discussed previously, the women continued to work at the types of Institutions and doing the kinds of work as had been done before, albeit putting their professional qualifications into practice. It was as though the women were playing a sort of professional catch-up with the men. Armed with their qualifications they entered the institutions men were vacating to return to smaller scale village work. However, this focus on the location of the work (the institution) does not allow for an understanding of how these women's attitudes to their work environment had matured due to their own changing spirituality, their understanding of women's role in religious communities and the larger community, and their attitudes to the culture they were encountering.

3.3.2 Family dynasties

In the LMS's North Indian stations, practically everybody was related to everyone else. Mrs. Kennedy was the sister of an LMS missionary. Matthew Wollaston (who served in Mirzapur for eight years) married one of the Budden daughters and the three remaining girls continued to work for various missions. Matthew Sherring married the Mathers' daughter, and his daughter in turn became a missionary. Thomas Insell married the first female missionary employed in the mission, and Joseph Taylor married one from Calcutta. Hewlett, Budden, Sherring, and Theobald all had daughters who worked in the mission. Still other missionaries like Robert Ashton and Ethel Turner were related to LMS missionaries posted elsewhere.

Although death was described as occurring only too often,[87] there were many daughters

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[87]CWM NI(UP)C 17 3 H. Theobald to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 29 April 1903.

who survived infancy and required the support of the mission over the time span of this study. There were times when children were described emotionally, but much more often children were assessed in terms of economics. On a number of occasions children with disabilities were described in terms of being unable to contribute to the family, and in one particular case Thomas Begg described the death of his son as a disappointment because he "was twenty-one and would have been able to relieve us of further outlay".[88] This is not to say these are unreasonable comments. The relationship a missionary had with the Foreign Secretary was one of business. The comments reflect what was a simple reality; in a time when families were responsible for their own health and support, the male heads of families were responsible for ensuring the future of their offspring, something for which the Presbyterians prepared from an early date. To the CIM, such concepts would have indicated a lack of faith.

This is one of the reasons why, as in other stations, there were complex family relations in the Benares/Almora Missions. It was not automatic that the wives and daughters of missionaries would work in the mission. Several lobbied long and hard to get their posts. Like Henry Bulloch's daughter, Mabel, who replaced James Hewlett's daughter in 1903, many had been educated in England and could not rely on familiarity with a language to give them an advantage over outside candidates.[89] It was in 1871 that Robert Mather first gained remuneration for his daughter's work in the mission. His wife joined the missions in her own right as well, after his death.[90] Three of Henry Budden's children also worked for missions, two with the LMS and one with the American Board of Foreign Missions. Another married a missionary.[91] The Sherrings arranged a mission post for their daughter, but when Mr. Sherring died, his wife made a strong case for her own application, in place of her daughter.[92] At first the Benares District Committee refused her a paid position, but subsequently supported her claim for an allowance out of respect for her husband's position. After the Hewletts made application for their daughter,[93] the Committee decided

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[88]CWM NI(UP)C 21 3 A. Begg to F. Lenwood, 20 March 1903.
[89]Ibid., 17 3 G. Bulloch to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 6 January 1903.
[90] Ibid., 8 1/B 23 R. Mather to J. Mullens, 16 August 1872.
[91] Ibid., 7 3 A/8 Minutes of BDC with letter from H. Budden to Dr. Mullens (and signed by others), 22 February 1871.
[92]Ibid., 10 3 C 38a, Mrs. Sherring to J. Mullens, 30 December 1880.
[93]Ibid., 12 1 C 36, J. Hewlett to J. Whitehouse (acting Foreign Secretary 1870-1872, 1873-1874, 1879-1880, 1882-1884), 1 October 1883.

it should have regulations covering such matters. Perhaps they were looking forward to the time when the Huttons' five daughters at Walthamstow (where Miss Marris was teaching at the time) would require employment.[94] When David Hutton's oldest daughter was not employed by the mission in 1888, he complained, pointing out that Miss Marris had not done well on her third language exam, a dubious accusation given the high marks she received in the first two.[95] Perhaps out of collegiality Hutton did not mention the prior employment of all the other daughters of missionaries, but he certainly had grounds to do so. The Committee agreed that daughters should not take positions away from native assistants, that they should be approved by the Ladies' Committee, be members of a Church, and pass an exam "in the vernacular".[96]

Unlike the CIM school at Chefoo, the LMS did not specifically set out to train future generations of mission workers. Schools such as those at Blackheath and Walthamstow did reinforce an interest in Empire generally and in particular missions, but neither of the schools were strictly LMS Institutions. It is therefore interesting to note that the consequences of Hudson Taylor's very conscious control of marriages and children in the CIM is mirrored in the LMS where similar complex interconnections seem to have evolved more or less naturally.[97]

3.4 The Struggle to Create Mission Policy in the United Provinces of North India

This chapter provides a description of the work in the United Provinces sufficient for an understanding of how far the aims of the LMS were realised, and for comparisons to be made with the work of the Presbyterians and China Inland Mission. The previous section highlighted the importance of personnel in creating the practical work, and the spirit of a District. The section following focuses on some issues these individuals were forced to handle during the three decades covered by this study.

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[94]Ibid., 13 2/B/21 J. Hewlett to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 22 May 1886; Walthamstow (est. 1838) was set up to teach the daughters of missionaries. Boys could go to Eltham College at Blackheath (est. 1842). See: Goodall, History, p.546.
[95]Ibid., 14 1 7 J. Hewlett to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 12 May 1888.
[96]Ibid., 13 1/B/24 J. Hewlett and the Board to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 26 June 1885.
[97]Buettner, "Families and Memories", p.225.

The Benares District Committee and its members seemed to have a propensity for trouble. Although the Reports and Letters which make up the sources for this study highlight controversy, this mission does seem to go from one crisis to the next. The concept underlying contemporary perceptions of its problems was efficacy of purpose. However, discussion about direction took the form of inter-station and personal rivalry, discussions about sources and use of funds, the revision of administrative proceedings, and agitation between missionaries over methods to be employed in the mission. Disagreement occurred over determining at what level schooling should be offered, whether government money should be used to run mission schools, and whether it was better for the schools to offer academic or Industrial training. These discussions mirror those taking place in wider evangelical circles at the end of the nineteenth century. Some workers felt a mission could still fulfil its mandate by the provision of 'good works' aimed at addressing local needs through evangelical concern, while others advocated a more strictly evangelical approach of village itineration.

The most obvious divisions occurred between the mission at Almora, the character of which was largely shaped by Henry Budden, and the missions clustered around Mirzapur and Benares. These divisions became obvious when money was tight, and stations competed against one another for support. Missionaries outside Almora felt that they needed more funding from the mission because of the generous donations the Almora mission received from the local military establishment. Both the donors and the Almora missionaries felt the Society was either unable or unwilling to fund what was viewed as a critical field.[98] Perhaps the Directors agreed with this assessment since the Society did fund other stations ahead of Almora when money was tight. Mary Budden tersely commented on this situation, saying: "either you must think we are not worth helping or perhaps that those who try to help themselves should be left to do so".[99]

From the beginning Almora and Benares had developed in fundamentally different directions. In 1866 Budden wrote to say the mission had given up on the idea of getting another European missionary since the native brethren were excellent workers.[100] The

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[98]CWM NI(UP)C 6/2/D 38 H. Budden to J. Mullens, 18 January 1867.
[99]Ibid., 20 1 Miss M. Budden to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 27 April 1908.
[100]Ibid., 6 1/D 104 H. Budden to J. Mullens, 14 June 1866.

following March he advocated that the native workers be full members of the District Committee,[101] a move which was opposed by the other missionaries for more than three decades. He also quite clearly had ideas which clashed with the others with regards to mission purpose. He not only responded to the local European community which funded LMS work, but also the local native population. He was candid that the work of the Leper Institute and the schools, which were gradually upgraded to High School and then College status, met the needs of the local population, but was not an end in itself.

> It is confessedly difficult to write on this subject definitely and satisfactorily. This is partly owing to the different ideas entertained by different persons as to what are the legitimate results of mission work. To those who consider that the only legitimate and satisfactory result of a certain amount of money spent and of effort put forth in Christian missions is the baptism of a certain number of professed converts to Christianity, the present aspect of affairs in Northern India generally of this province in particular will probably be unsatisfactory. But the question arises if this is a wise and correct view of the case.... Christ sought to preach and disseminate Christian truths and did not emphasise the conversion of people in itself.... leave that in the hands of God. The question is whether we need direct definitive results or is it enough to do the good works and wait for God's will.[102]

The other missionaries professed a commitment to "direct and unmistakable efforts"[103] but did not follow through. Mather's description of Kennedy's approach was followed directly by the proposal that he also serve as a Presbyterian chaplain in Rani Khet. He was not the only one who on paper committed himself to what must have been a difficult existence of travelling to preach in bazaars and teach in the primary schools established in small villages, while in reality doing his utmost to create a comfortable, stable lifestyle for himself.

Various members of the mission continued to clash over their manner of working as missionaries and living as Christian witnesses. Robert Mather and Henry Budden were at constant cross-purposes. By the time Kennedy had moved to Rani Khet, relations in Almora had deteriorated to the point where Kennedy was refusing to share services with

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[101] Ibid., 6 1/E/28 Minutes of the BDC, 20 February 1868.
[102] Ibid., 6 1/D 48 H. Budden to J. Mullens, n.d.
[103] Ibid., 6 3/B 18, R. Mather to J. Mullens, 15 May 1868.

Budden who had offended the entire mission by criticising a colleague openly, while attempting to attract William Jones (a colleague in Duddhi) away from that remote village to replace Kennedy who he considered to be a dead-weight.[104] Controversy continued in 1869 when Kennedy complained that some of his colleagues were trying to take away his work because they disapproved of his focusing on the cantonment, where the Scottish soldiers at least were quite happy with his work. He also resisted the encouragement of Jones from Duddhi, that native workers take over the supervision of the schools, a suggestion which, had it been pursued, might have been as successful as the Scottish effort in Darjeeling.[105] Meanwhile in the same meeting in which Sir William Muir warned Kennedy against cantonment evangelism, Sherring attempted to arrange a chaplaincy for himself to the troops in Mirzapur without the permission of the District Committee, or the knowledge of the mission's Directors.[106]

This 'scramble' for position amongst the men continued. Even when new recruits criticised the methods of the old, they seemed to quickly follow in their footsteps. In 1875 Hewlett emphasised the importance of preaching in bazaars.[107] However, when pushed by the criticisms of a younger colleague that the College was taking up too much of the mission's time, he had to admit that he spent four to five hours a day administering the new BA program which the Directors had not approved.[108] The missionaries wished to protect their programme a decade later due to the "great respect and influence" it provided them in the province.[109]

Often arguments were about more than one issue - at different times both Oakley and Taylor wrote to the Foreign Secretary about Budden's running of Almora, but it seems this had more to do with the Buddens' adherence to a strict work ethic and moral code than anything else. On two occasions Oakley got himself into debt. On the first occasion,

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[104]Ibid.
[105]Ibid., 7 1/B 23 J. Kennedy to J. Mullens, 5 July 1869 and 1 15a Miss E. Stevens to R. Wardlaw Thompson after visiting Kalimpong, 17 June 1893.
[106]Ibid., 7 1/B 21 M. Sherring Report, 25 June 1869.
[107]Ibid., 9 2 A/8 J. Hewlett to Dr. Mullens, 19 March 1875.
[108]Ibid., 12 1 A/9 J. Hewlett to J. Whitehouse, 7 March 1883 and 13/1 8 24 to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 26 June 1885.
[109]Ibid., 13 1 A/7 D. Hutton to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 12 February 1885. See discussion of clerical professionalism in Cox, Jeffrey (1995) "The Missionary Movement" in Paz, D.G. (ed.) Nineteenth Century English Religious Traditions: Retrospect and Prospect, (London) p. 216.

the Society helped him out, but the second time, when it was brought to their attention that he had used the School Scholarship Fund to secure a loan to pay off accumulated debts and he refused to correspond with the Directors about the incident, he was forced to leave the mission.[110] Oakley criticised mission methods, and in 1890 he made a commitment to refuse government grants for schools, to spend more time itinerating in villages.[111] However, his early enthusiasm was quickly tempered by station life. He and his wife never left the central stations to visit outlying villages. He was invariably negative when talking about the local population and his colleagues, both native and European. His personal circumstances resulted from his and his wife's inability to live within their means in Almora which caused more friction in the mission. They resented Mary Budden's dominant role in mission life which they described as requiring "the most abject submission to a female rule which one doesn't feel to be always wise or even consistent".[112] On her part Mary Budden politely yet firmly rejected the suggestion that the missionaries live together.[113] These complaints underline a fundamental difference of purpose between those such as the Buddens, who turned money back to the mission when funds were tight, and the Oakley family who did not manage to live in the manner to which they were accustomed. Specifically, Mary Budden resisted living with a married couple in order to preserve her freedom to live and work as a single professional woman. In this she acted the same as Rose Marris in Benares. Yet another missionary, Joseph Taylor's, complaint about the Buddens related to H. Budden's commenting on Mrs Taylor's lack of medical usefulness (she had trained at the Royal Edinburgh Infirmary as a 'lady probationer').

These fissures in the mission continued until the stations were threatened with closure. Mary Budden may have based her decision to remain at Almora after it was passed on by the LMS, at least in part on bad feelings between herself and her colleagues. In 1891 Benares staff had told her that they didn't care whether the station was closed or not,[114] which was probably the sour grapes of colleagues watching their neighbours win awards for standards of education while converting all the lepers in the Almora Asylum (a captive

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[110]Ibid., 18 2 R. Ashton to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 30 October 1905.
[111]Ibid., 14a/3 E. Oakley to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 16 March 1890.
[112]Ibid., 14b 2 E. Oakley to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 26 September 1891.
[113]CWM/CP2 47 no.849 Mary Budden, M. Budden to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 6 July 1887.
[114]Ibid., 14b 2 Sir H. Ramsay to R. Wardlaw Thompson, n.d.

audience). In 1902 the government also built a new Asylum for the mission when they appropriated the land under the old one to house the families of a Gurkha Regiment.[115] Sniping was not aimed simply at other stations. At times the missionaries wrote to the

Figure 2: Mary Budden 'the tigress' With the Orphans in Almora, c.1890

Directors as if London was an entirely separate entity. Their attitude was scattered through the letters between 1860 and 1910 when the missionaries asked for the funds they knew had been donated for their area. It came to a head in the 1890s when the older missionaries were criticised by the Directors and the newer missionaries such as Arthur Parker and Robert Ashton, who refused to follow the lead of men like Hewlett, and instead focused their efforts at the village level, on primary education and health care, and native church development.[116] The Directors attempted to bring the mission in line with LMS administrative policy for over a decade. Frank Lenwood spent time in the mission and in one damning report home classified Ashton as a "great standby and Jackson a leader but too far away; the rest are not leaders".[117]

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[115]Ibid., 17 2 E. Oakley to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 30 June 1902.
[116]CWM NI(UP)C 14a/3 A. Parker to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 5 February 1890; and 16 3 R. Ashton to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 15 February 1900.
[117]Ibid., 21 3 F. Lenwood to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 26 March 1912.

The issue of special funding came to be of central importance in the United Provinces. From the 1890s the Society took to using the specially designated funds to pay for over-expenditures in one area of the mission when the money might have been donated for something else. All three missions in this study were forced to deal with this problem, and although it is not strictly a female issue, the lady missionaries recruited by the LMS from Britain's middle classes were able to make use of formal and perhaps more importantly informal Church and personal networks to raise support for their work.[118] They were busy and effective canvassers for funds and prayer support. They achieved their ends both through letter writing and personal visits when home on furlough. Prochaska's important study on Victorian philanthropy underlines the fact that this means of support served an empowering function in two directions. While it allowed women's work to continue, it also gave the 'givers' knowledge and power about someone far away and in worse shape than themselves, thus shoring up their own faith. They were exhorted to be Christ-like, and the existence of poor foreigners who needed their help gave them the opportunity to be so.[119] For the mission, the problem was that a very large part of the work continued to be built up through the initiative of individual missionaries who secured financial support from subscribers by direct correspondence with them. The nature and policy of such work was determined almost exclusively by the missionary concerned.[120] The missionaries in the United Provinces were particularly uninspired in their choice of stations, and appear to have spread themselves too thinly, resulting in requests for more staff. Even the Almora mission often requested funds from London. Robert Ashton's carefully conceived and implemented mission at Kachwa seems to be the only exception to this rule.

The apparently small funds solicited in Britain by the North Indian Lady Missionaries not only ensured the continuation of the women's work in times of need, but allowed the men's work to continue as well. Between 1870 and 1888 several letters a year were sent to London to chase up what amounts to about £10 annually, a respectable sum considering that it was sufficient to have paid the salaries of two Bible women at the time. James Sherring took the Directors to task over the issue of how the special funds were

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[118]Levine, Feminist Lives, p.3.
[119]Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy, Chapter 1.
[120]Goodall, History, p.567.

managed in 1879 and recommended that,

> people should be able to send contributions directly to the mission field as the rate of exchange is so good (the CMS allows it) and if it goes through the Society, which charges a heavy premium on it amounting to Rs.10 in every fifty, or a sovereign out of every five.... this mission, and indeed all the society's missions, are integral parts of the Society itself and to have separate regulations for them whereby the Society may reap a benefit at their expense. This is opposed to the best interests of the society, and is apt moreover to engender among the missions a sense of being unkindly treated.[121]

In 1888 the matter remained a contentious issue. Coley pointed out to the Directors that the ladies who had donated the money wouldn't appreciate their funds being used to subsidise other parts of the mission.[122] The missionaries and London continued what seemed to have become almost a game. London would receive a special donation and used it to pay off a debt, and then the missionaries noticed the donation in mission literature and demanded payment. In 1904 Miss Waitts reported from Mirzapur that the largest part of the money for the women's work came from special donations which demonstrates how vital women's connections continued to be even into the twentieth century.

3.4 Conclusion

It is clear why the LMS stations in the United Provinces were transferred to other missions. The missionaries spent decades writing letters and reports home which suggested their work was steadily progressing and which underlined the importance of their presence. These letters and reports appear to relate a straightforward narrative until one puts them into a context of the Annual Reports of all stations. Perhaps the most enlightening is the Deputation Report of 1910 which highlighted the consistent failure of staff in the United Provinces to train and employ local staff, and establish local church communities. Official publications pointed to staff and funding shortages, but in a sense this masked more fundamental underlying issues. Missionaries sent to the stations in the

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[121]CWM NI(UP)C 10 2/B 18 M. Sherring to J. Whitehouse, 16 September 1879.
[122]Ibid., 14a/1, H. Coley to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 15 October 1888.

Almora and Benares Districts failed to follow the direction and the spirit of a missionary society. They were sent as agents to convert and leave in place an independent Christian church. Instead, many of them used their position in the colonial project to create for themselves professional positions and lifestyles they might not have had had they remained in Britain.

Figure 3: The Benares District Committee, c.1910

In the 1880s women and what could be referred to as a 'new breed' of missionaries arrived in the United Provinces to join the mission. Any attempt to describe the differences between them and their predecessors is necessarily complicated. These later individuals were influenced by the revivals which affected British Protestant society in the later nineteenth-century and in part resulted in a fresh approach to evangelical initiatives. In this mission the obvious change in personnel was the arrival of single female workers. However, the type of male workers also changed from predominantly ordained to more

lay workers with a university education. These individuals also employed the language of revival - a commitment to personal empowerment through individual religious commitment, and achieving spiritual power through service. The evidence of this chapter indicates that this commitment actually manifested itself to varying degrees. The majority of the men who joined the mission from the 1880s on, lacked the personal strength and commitment to effect real change. Only the notable few challenged the existing order and struck out in new directions.

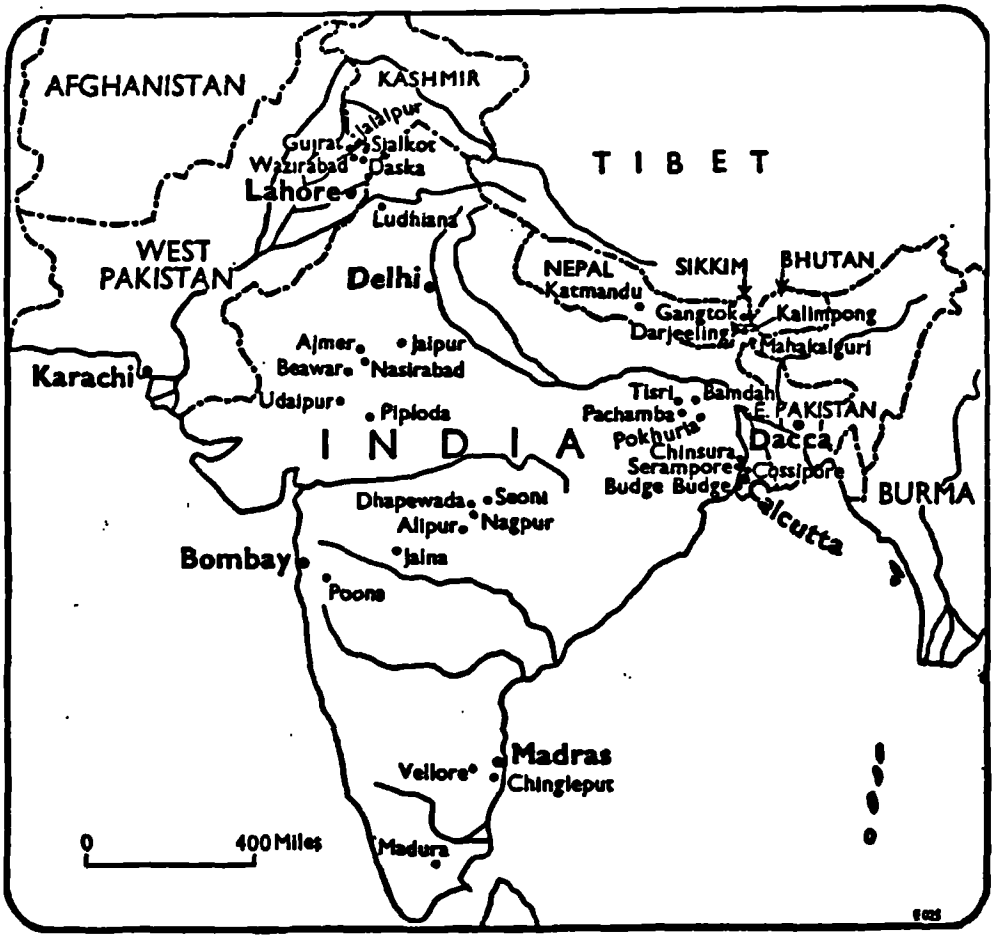
A similar picture can be painted of the women in this study. Mission wives were successful publicists and fund-raisers, but the time they had to devote to professional mission activities was limited by the expectation that they take primary responsibility for home management and their families. The young women who joined the mission as single lady workers were not free to devote all their energies to professional activities. Their initial task lay in defining exactly what those professional activities entailed. In the mission field this involved deciding what type of work they would do and their constituency. They also faced the gendered expectations of their colleagues over personal safety and notions of proper behaviour which dictated where they could live and work, as well as their administrative position in the mission community. Although numbers of female recruits climbed dramatically in the LMS and in the mission movement in general, in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the reality in the field was that these women were younger, inexperienced and had less formal education than their male colleagues. It was therefore easy for individuals to be overwhelmed by the attitudes of their co-workers. Women made small inroads in terms of work or decision-making, but were generally absorbed into the systems already in place. It was a remarkable few who displayed the drive and ability to create a niche for themselves. The impact of the female presence on the mission field was more gradual and diffuse than their numbers alone might suggest. It was not until university-educated workers arrived after the turn of the century that women took on the full-time professional and independent roles that their education had prepared them for, and their numbers and policy developments allowed them to make more significant inroads in mission administration. The results in the field indicate how important it is to juxtapose the theory of candidate training and selection with its application in the field. The story of this LMS area of work in North India indicates that changes in gendered expectations of work occurred only gradually, and they

began prior to any point when sheer numbers of women workers could have impacted the mission. Any changes in methods resulted from increasing educational opportunities for both sexes and shifts in evangelical belief, which again affected both lay men and women. The following chapter explores the same questions in the context of Scottish Presbyterian work in foreign fields.

Chapter Four

"Good Temper and Common Sense are Invaluable": The Church of Scotland Eastern Himalayan Mission

"India is not big cities and accepts Presbyterianism well because of the work of elders, as a ecclesiastical form of government, is understood and welcomed in India, because it falls in the customs and habits of the people"[1]



Map 3: Scottish Presbyterian Mission Stations in India

4.1 Introduction

The long history of Scottish Presbyterian interest in missions is difficult to separate from the convoluted domestic history of the Scottish churches at this time. It was in 1824 that the Church of Scotland resolved to begin mission work, and it sent its first worker to

[1]ACA.Acc 66/II/3 "Address by K.H.L. Fraser, KCSI, LLD" *FECM* Vol. III, December 1910.

Bombay in 1829. Missionaries and their work were affected by the 1843 Disruption of the Church of Scotland (CofS) into the CofS and the Free Church of Scotland (FCofS), leading to the unusual situation where most (all but one) of the missionaries joined a FCofS mission bereft of the buildings retained by the CofS.[2] Mission administration was greatly affected by these and subsequent developments. In 1900 the FCofS joined with the United Presbyterian Church (UPC) to form the United Free Church of Scotland (UFCofS), which then joined with the CofS to form a new Church of Scotland in 1929. Within the re-formed denominations the old offices of the various Foreign Missions Committees continued to function separately for a time after Union - although this appears to have been the consequence of administrative artifice and logistical problems rather than suggestive of any sort of long-lasting animosity. Missionaries in the field appeared less concerned with these domestic divisions than were workers in mission head offices.

As was the case with other Protestant missions, it was not until the period beginning after the upheaval of 1857 in India that significant numbers of single women began to be sent to the new stations established in the Punjab, Poona and the Eastern Himalayas. Prior to this, the wives and relatives of male missionaries had initiated work with women. In the 1870s the Church also established large stations in Africa and China, but the work done in these locations will not be addressed in this study. From the time of its formation in 1847 the UPC had missions active in the West Indies, Calabar, Kaffraria and Jamaica; it began work in Rajputana in 1860, and in Manchuria and Japan in the early 1870s. After the Disruption the Free Church added missions in Nagpur in 1845, Jalna in 1855, Santalia in 1871, and began to work in already established African stations in the 1870s.[3] The staff who were sent to work in Scottish mission stations stretching along the northern rim of India - Darjeeling, Sikkim and the Punjab - will be looked at in this study.

Scottish interest in foreign missions is often described as having two sources. One, described as 'uniquely Scottish', consists of the activities stemming from the Scottish

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[2]Hewat, Vision and Achievement, pp.45-47; and Brown, Scotland, pp.22-3.
[3]Graham, J.A. (1905) On the Threshold of Three Closed Lands 2nd ed., (Edinburgh); Hewat, Vision and Achievement, pp.14,43,127,157-68,175,193 and 294; National Library of Scotland (1984) National Library of Scotland Catalogue of Manuscripts Vol. VI (Edinburgh) pp.1-11.

Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands - in the early eighteenth century "Scotland had a mission field in a sense that England did not, and churchmen of many persuasions could unite in the objects of the Society. Founded in 1709, it sought to instruct the people of the highlands in the Christian reformed Protestant tradition".[4] This activity combined the techniques of licensed itinerants preaching and teaching with the establishment of local libraries. The latter endeavours in particular became a strength of Scottish overseas mission work of later periods. These early missionaries found ripe fields in which to work, since reports from the early 1700s were that they encountered virtual paganism in places like St. Kilda and Skye. This interest in missionary work, and available funds, led the SSPCK to fund New England churches to minister to North American Indians in the mid-eighteenth century. This uniquely Scottish mission focus is said to have combined with British interest which originated in the revivals of 1742 and contributed to the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society. Linking the specific Scottish domestic context more generally to foreign missions suggests why Presbyterian missions developed as they did. A particular Presbyterian approach developed in order to evangelise in rugged, isolated areas to people with strong communal identities. It met the requirements of the sending agency that biblically literate communities based on an ecclesiastical form of government be created and linked to a central church leadership through the participation of local community leadership. For their part the receiving communities gained access to education and were empowered by the participation of their own leaders in the church hierarchy.

This had a twofold effect. Communities welcomed access to learning, one result of which was an increased participation in religious observances. Further, a body of more highly educated while not necessarily financially well-off individuals, was created. This group was prepared to leave the confines of Scotland in order to reach their full potential, as missionaries, but also as settlers, and in the civil and military establishment of the expanding empire. The second effect of this form of church growth is more difficult to demonstrate, but is nonetheless important to understand. The democratic nature of the Presbyterian form of church government meant that in theory, church leadership should

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[4]Cameron, *et al.*, Dictionary, pp.567-73; see also: Ward, W.R. (1992) The Protestant Evangelical Awakening (Cambridge) pp.326-8.

represent the communal needs of the members of a given church, and any member could aspire to a leadership position. The realities of finance and social position often intruded on this process, but the theory appears to have transplanted readily enough to allow a local leadership to join in church government in North India from an early stage of the mission. While Thomas Chalmers may have forcefully and eloquently described domestic and foreign missions as inseparable companions, he cannot be described as unique in doing so. All the major British missions focused evangelistic energy on the spiritually needy at home (the 'street Arabs' of East London and the Irish Catholic workers of Islington) before embarking on overseas work.[5] However, as is so often the case, it is the particulars in the process which make the difference. It seems clear that the characteristics of educated independence which stand out in Scottish candidates and the missions they created, resulted from a commitment to educational access, and a sense of individual participation. Even when parish schooling could not keep pace with the booming industrialisation in nineteenth-century Scotland, missions and empire offered the chance for personal improvement. Biblical education put the same check on the religious enthusiasm of Scottish women as was the case for men. As well, the relatively higher educational backgrounds of Scottish women, at an earlier stage than for English candidates, affected the type of services they offered on Presbyterian stations.

It would be incorrect to suggest that Scottish mission interest was channelled solely through Scottish missions, and this fact made the development of a uniquely Scottish Presbyterian influence more difficult. The thirteen founding members of the London Missionary Society included all four London-based Church of Scotland ministers, and almost half of the first thirty-three Directors were Scottish. One key feature of the society, that the churches which resulted from LMS work should determine their own polity, was suggested by the Secession minister, Andrew Waugh.[6] Scottish missionary interest also constantly feeds into the British missionary movement via the recruitment of Scottish candidates. For most of the nineteenth century, LMS records show a high proportion of candidates originated in Scotland. Up to 1850 eighteen percent of LMS workers were Scottish and in the next half of the century this dropped to fifteen percent. Of these, thirty

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[5]Thorne, Congregational Missions, pp.1 and 15.
[6]Lovett, History, pp.13-16; and Cameron, *et al.*, Dictionary, p.494 "LMS". Also see: Calder, James (1945) Scotland's March Past: the Share of the Scottish Churches in the London Missionary Society, (London).

six missionaries each served the society for over thirty years. During the second half of the century Scotland contributed almost all of the medical missionaries employed by the LMS.[7] Given these statistics it is perhaps easy to understand the concerns of the Ladies Committee when they saw the number of Scottish female candidates dropping.[8] CIM records are peppered with queries about potential Scottish workers.[9] Later in the century, stories of mission adventure helped raise regard for Scottish workers. These included the many written about David Livingstone, whose popularity rested as much on admiration for the hard work and the diligence which had raised him from factory worker to mission doctor as to the allure of travel and adventure. But if the Scottish churches were so strongly centred on a specific cultural identity, why were their candidates so popular with other British Protestant Missions, and how was it possible for this form of belief to be translated into a wholly alien setting?

In order to address these questions, this chapter looks at the work of the Scottish Presbyterian Foreign Missions in the Eastern Himalayas - in what is now Sikkim, Darjeeling, Bhutan and West Bengal and at women's medical work in Sialkot in the Punjab. After describing the location and historical development of the mission stations in this region, the question why the stations were of particular interest in Scotland will be answered by examining the articles and pamphlets produced by the various FMC sub-committees. The purpose of such literature was to raise interest in the mission stations in the Himalayas in order to attract workers and raise the funds necessary for the mission to function. These articles stressed similarities between the rugged landscape of the Himalayan foothills and Scotland, and the industrious character of their inhabitants and the Scottish national character in order to incite in Scottish supporters a sense of closeness, and responsibility for the future of the mission. At home the work of the Women's Association for Foreign Missions (WAFM) will be examined in relation to both its Auxiliaries and the FMC in order to compare Scottish women's experiences to those of their colleagues in the LMS and CIM. Further, given the relatively higher education and professional experience of Presbyterian candidates, a discussion of the relation between

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[7]Cameron, *et al.*, Dictionary, p.494 "LMS".
[8]CWM CP 1/27 no. 896 Euphemia Barclay, 17 December 1887 Miss A. Foster to Miss C. Bennett.
[9]Concerned about how few Scottish men were being attracted to their work, see: CIM/LCM 9, 21 March 1899, the mission established a council in Glasgow to examine candidates and make suggestions to the London Council. See: CIM/LCM 4, 2 October 1889.

individual worker in the field and the reform of mission councils will provide the opening by which gender in the Scottish case may be compared to the wider British Protestant reality.

Until the last two decades of the nineteenth century in Scottish churches, women's and men's work existed alongside one another without intersecting in any meaningful way. Because women were barred from performing formal ecclesiastical roles, their church work was limited to 'good works' of a secular nature. It was when this strict demarcation between roles came to be questioned that the system was forced to evolve. Women's work in missions was one such source of dispute, and in part a study of women's work is a study of how the Presbyterian churches met the challenge presented by women: middle-class women who wished to organise missions, educated women who worked in, and sought to manage their work in missions, lower-class workers, and women of different racial background, each seeking to define their role in the mission enterprise.

4.2 Brief History of the Work

4.2.1 On the Northern Frontier

This chapter will focus on selected Presbyterian mission stations "On the Threshold of Three Closed Lands" (Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet),[10] stations which existed to minister, teach and medically treat the changing local population in Kalimpong, Darjeeling and Bhutan, each of which came under British Protection as the result of small wars and diplomatic skirmishes between 1837 and 1865.[11] Discussion of Sialkot in the Punjab will be limited to the women's medical work begun there in 1889.[12] A number of disparities exist between the various stations begun in the Eastern Himalayan Mission (EHM). Geographically each was separated from the other by rugged terrain, and the various missions were staffed and supported by several auxiliary bodies rather than just the FMC. Joining the FMC and the Ladies Zenana Association for the Education of Females in India (LZAEFI) in Darjeeling and Kurseong, the Scottish Universities Mission (SUM) was

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[10]Graham, J.A. (1905) On the Threshold of Three Closed Lands 2nd ed. (Edinburgh).
[11]O'Malley, L.S.S. (1907), Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling, (Calcutta); Minto, James R. (1974) Graham of Kalimpong (Edinburgh).
[12]MS.Dep.298.32 Synod of Aberdeen Auxiliary of the CofSWA Sialkot Mission Report 1915; Hewat, Vision and Achievement, pp.115-26.

responsible for the mission in Independent Sikkim and the Training Institute in Kalimpong from 1880, while the Young Men's Guild (YMG) assumed the mission in Kalimpong and in Bhutan beginning in 1889. The Women's Guild (WG) took responsibility for medical work and a girls high school in Kalimpong in 1891, as well as running mobile medical clinics. Local Nepali congregations themselves began missions into Bhutan in 1892, and Nepal in 1893.

Although separated by geographical distance, these stations shared a mission committee, as was the case with the LMS work, but unlike CIM work at Chefoo, which was unique and separate to itself. This was in part a result of the historical growth of the mission, but it also reflected the fact that, with relatively few workers, even stations quite distant from each other were administered as though close. This resulted in regular exchanges of staff between centres as far apart as Darjeeling and Calcutta in order to fill vacancies resulting from sickness or retirement. Darjeeling is of particular interest as some of the LMS workers in this study took holidays there and their letters record not only a favourable impression of the mission work in Darjeeling, but also of the spirit of the missionaries themselves.[13]

The description of Darjeeling as a place of refuge, as a frontier on the edge of the sub-continent, is echoed throughout literature about the mission, and it influenced the development of the mission. These stations were a frontier in many senses, for both the missionaries and their Scottish supporters. The EHM was situated in a region which remained the site of political and military dispute until the second half of the nineteenth century. British supremacy in these conflicts enabled missionaries to reside in the area, and encouraged the migration of the Newari and Gurkha people with whom the missionaries worked, into the region to work on tea-plantations. For missionaries, the district represented both a distant frontier and a refuge in terms of health and recuperation, in terms of administrative supervision, particularly of women's work, and in terms of the type and manner of work being undertaken. Further to its physical separation from Calcutta, perhaps more importantly the mountainous terrain in which the EHM was

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[13]CWM NI(UP)C 15a/1 Miss E. Stevens from Darjeeling, 17 June 1893 and A. Parker from Kalimpong, 17 May 1893, both to R. Wardlaw Thompson; APS.1.79.5 CofS Darjeeling MR, 1890.

established captured the popular imagination of the supporters of the mission in Scotland.

The foothills of the Himalayas stand in stark contrast to the *terai* (plain) which begin to their south. This fact resulted in an impression that the cooler climate was healthier for Europeans living in the sub-continent, and these centres, on the periphery, became associated with health and refuge. The Foreign Secretary wrote in 1886,

> it seems to me it would be a valuable adjustment to our Calcutta mission having the branch at Darjeeling to which any of the ladies could go who require the change of climate for a longer time than the summer holidays. I do hope the cooler air will strengthen you and do you find, as Mrs. Clifford recommended, that you should have the benefit of the changes this summer. As I understand it your work will be to go and teach the wives of the *Baboos* who go up to Darjeeling and who will be in *Zenanas* there just as much as in Calcutta.[14]

The missions were anxious to open places of refuge from a hot and unhealthy climate. However, the WA, perhaps unfairly, was quickly disappointed in the health benefits offered by its new station. In 1888 Miss C. Reid planned a furlough home due to health difficulties despite her having been moved to Darjeeling to recuperate only a few months before, a fact which the Committee found "unfortunate [given] that it is difficult to find a suitable place for a really good change of air. Up to this time we have been thinking of Darjeeling as an exceptionally healthy place, in fact as a Sanitorium".[15] The Scots, like the LMS, found that stations in the foothills did not necessarily cure ill workers, but did have their advantages.[16]

Another facet of the frontier spirit which infused these stations was related to their administration, the style of work developed in the mission, and the relation of the missionaries to the newly formed local churches. From very early in station history relative isolation provided individual missionaries with the opportunity to rely on the

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[14]MS.7624 CofSWA Letters to Missionaries ff.56, Rev. J. Williamson to Miss C. Augusta Reid, 22 April 1886.
[15]MS.7624 CofSWA Letters to Darjeeling ff.143, Miss E. Williamson to Miss C. Reid, 20 May 1888.
[16]The CofS responded to a worker in Calcutta with a drinking problem by moving him out of the way of observation, to Sialkot: MS.7534 CofSFMC LB of the Convenor ff.132, Rev. J. McMurtrie to Wm. Hastie, 6 November 1879.

talents of local converts rather than other colleagues, with whom they could easily correspond, but not see face to face daily. This fact significantly influenced the future of the mission. As in Almora, distance from Calcutta meant that mission workers took the freedom to act prior to receiving permission to do so, which at times caused friction in administrative circles.[17] The EHM was begun in 1870 and maintained a very different style of work than was practised in the older established mission stations. In 1872 it was agreed that

> the primary aim is to teach in the bazaars on Sundays, and villages and wherever people may hear, in the vernacular language, and teach to read and write in their own language a valuable secondary agency. [18]

New missionaries arrived in the 1880s armed with the same evangelical enthusiasm as those described in the previous chapter. However, they arrived at a mission which had avoided institutionalisation, and their own enthusiasm met the work, resulting in a practical mixture of religious enthusiasm grounded in a commitment to teach basic literacy skills as well as to provide primary health care and industrial training. These would provide communities with skills by which they could support themselves. For women in particular, the physical distance of the EHM from established mission centres like Calcutta meant a separation from the established, controversy-embroiled and male-dominated work of the larger teaching institutions, the value of which was under review in this period.[19] Although men retained authority over the formal religious life of each mission, the legal details of mission buildings and finances, the women working on these new frontiers exercised great freedom relative to women at home or in the larger, older

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[17]In the 1890s the FMC was incensed when the Darjeeling missionaries purchased a large home called "Banstead" prior to receiving permission from the Committee. On their part, the missionaries argued that appropriate, affordable property did not come on the market often, and they had to purchase it quickly or lose the sale: see MS.Dep.298.11 CofSFMC MB of the Secretary ff.1-10, 29 January 1892. They redeemed themselves somewhat by making enough money from the sale of furniture from the house to pay for necessary renovations to both it and school, and to pay for a recently purchased printing press MS.Dep.298.11 CofSFMC MB of the Secretary ff.55, 1 May 1892. However, the FMC remained less than pleased: "it seems to me unbelief to common sense" in MS.Dep.298.11 CofSFMC LB of the Secretary ff.928, J. Maclagan to A. Turnbull, 2 March 1893.

[18]Q.120.per CofS *HFMR* 1 January 1872 " Darjeeling a Plea for its Support and an Appeal to our Divinity Students" 1872, p.564.

[19]MS.298.113 FCofSFMC Minute 9116 December 1890. The Scottish Church joined in wider mission discussions over the amount of money being spent on institutions of higher learning teaching in English. In 1890 the FCofSFMC decided to focus its work on teaching in the vernacular, and to focus its resources on evangelistic teaching.

stations.

The geographic locale of the North Indian Presbyterian missions is more important than merely a beautiful and inviting backdrop, or a healthy and relatively attractive climate for Europeans. In the latter half of the nineteenth-century Darjeeling, Assam and Sikkim were well established tea-growing regions, and in opposition to the LMS stations described in the previous chapter, the Presbyterian mission stations in the eastern Himalayas were considered to represent successful mission endeavours. The workers on the tea plantations were migrants. In the EHM ninety-six percent of them were Nepali who had been pushed out of the various regions of Nepal by war, changing land systems and natural disaster, and were being attracted by the British requirement for labour in India. In Darjeeling this new population was joined by others from Bhutan, and Tibet to displace the local Lepcha population who relocated, primarily in Sikkim.[20] The removal of these people from their home communities made them an attractive community to evangelise. As a result of dislocation, they had fewer communal ties and so resistance was broken down. The break up of extended families meant that more children were likely to attend school, and more orphans became available for school.[21] Macfarlane was welcomed in 1865 by D. Morton, then Deputy Commission in Darjeeling, who served on the first Mission Council. The primarily Scottish managers of the tea plantations were supportive of mission activity on their plantations which would result in contented workers and stable church communities.[22] Aside from its Training Institution, the Kalimpong Mission looked after the illegitimate Anglo-Indian offspring of these local Scottish planters in cottage schools

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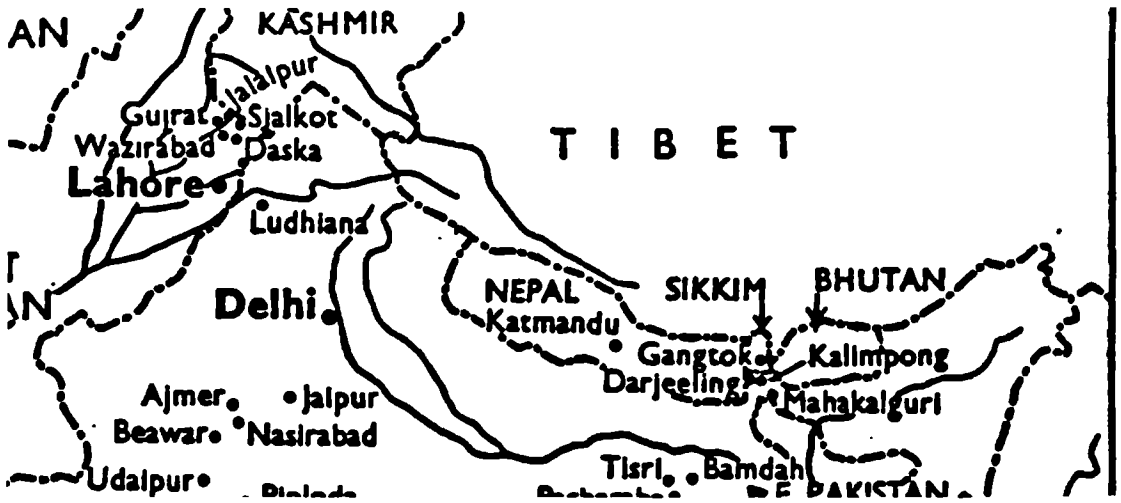
[20]O'Malley, L.S.S. (1907), Bengal District Gazetteers: Darjeeling, (Calcutta) p.49; Perry, "History of Expansion", pp.33-4.

[21]ACA.Acc/II/1 FCS Monthly or Free East Church Aberdeen *HFMR*, February 1899 "Report from Miss Grant". For a discussion of conversion to Christianity as a means by which minorities resist losing ethnic identity see Bays, Christianity, Section 2 "Christianity and Ethnicity".

[22]All missionaries liked to highlight the support their work received locally, but in Darjeeling reports this support takes on a more personal form. The local tea-plantation managers did donate money for church buildings, see Mr Keane of 'Avon-Grove' who in 1888 had donated the money to open a sixth school, and was supporting the teachers as well (at Rs.5 per month): MS.Dep.298.10 CofSFMC MB ff.208, 17 August 1888; see also MS.Dep.298.11 CofSFMC MB of the Secretary ff.141, 28 February 1893 and ff.184, 11 July 1893. However, there are also instances where local supporters paid for the vestments of newly ordained Nepali elders and ministers, which was a very personal show of their interest in and support of the local congregations, see: MS.Dep.298.12 CofSFMC MB of the Secretary ff.636, 8 July 1902. The FMC instructed its missionaries not to differentiate between being "both a missionary to the planters and the people". See: MS.7537 CofS LB of the Convenor ff.157, J. McMurtie to D. MacMichael, 16 July 1899. Also see: Perry, "History of Expansion", pp.61-63.

which developed into the St Andrews Colonial Homes, which eventually housed and taught over 600 children.[23] The missions were also highly active in distributing famine



Map 4: Scottish Stations in the Eastern Himalayas and Punjab, c.1900

aid, and looking after children orphaned by the famines of 1874 and 1897.

The final way in which the EHM reputation affected the development of the mission was through the support it received in Scotland, and it is for this reason that the mission at Sialkot will be discussed. Local church auxiliaries had many calls on their time and resources, so their continued interest in, and support of, the various missions to the Himalayan foothills indicate an identification with the region and the work taking place there. The excitement of beginning new work among "the true Highlanders of India, with all a Highlander's independence, cheeriness, ambition and pride" was important in raising and maintaining interest in missions.[24] Instilling in supporters a close identification with the work of a far-away station was an effective means of ensuring a sense of obligation to

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[23]Minto, Graham, p. 84; Dewan, Dick (1991) Education in the Darjeeling Hills: A Historical Survey 1835-1985 (New Delhi).

[24]APS.1.79.5 CofSFMC Darjeeling Report for the Year 1890, 24 June 1897 p.8. For further discussion of this phenomenon in a non-religious context see: McCrone, David, Stephen Kendrick and Pat Straw (1989) The Making of Scotland: Nation, Culture and Social Change (Edinburgh) pp.3, 35; and Harper, Marjory (1998) Emigration Form Scotland Between the Wars: Opportunity or Exile? (Manchester) pp.5-6.

continue fund-raising efforts.[25]

4.2.2 The Work of the Presbyterian Missions in the 'Highlands' of the Himalayas

Mission work at Darjeeling was begun by the Church of Scotland after 1865 when William Macfarlane (1840-87) transferred his work in Gayah to Darjeeling after refusing to leave his orphanage to teach English. Macfarlane quickly became active in vernacular preaching in village bazaars and through house visiting, continued to accept orphans, and set up vernacular schools aimed at what he described as

> a people more accessible than the *Hindoos* to directly evangelistic labour. The experience of other churches had shown than such peoples are to be found among the aboriginal tribes, who differ from the *Hindoos* in having a simpler social system, free from the institutions of caste, in having no powerful priesthood, and in being far less bound by traditional religion.[26]

He was joined by his sister in 1871, and she taught at the Normal School they established to train teachers for the district schools. By 1872 one of the first Nepali converts began translating the Bible into Nepali and operated a mission press.[27] This work was complemented by the provision of industrial education and related industries which were aimed at enabling the newly created Christian communities to support themselves. An Anglo-Indian newspaper even reported that the Darjeeling missionaries planned to open a buttery.[28] The Macfarlane brother and sister were joined by more colleagues over several years, the best known being John Graham and his wife, who arrived in 1889. A decade later the EHM boasted 2 300 local Christians worshipping in either the large churches built in Darjeeling and Kalimpong, or in the eight village chapels. Local catechists ministered to these congregations without providing sacraments until 1900 when five of

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[25]Porter, Andrew N. (1987), "Scottish Missions and Education in Nineteenth-Century India: The Changing Face of 'Trusteeship'" *JICH* 16, 35-57; HP2.87.168 Magnusson, Mamie (1987), Out of Silence, (Edinburgh), pp.77-79. The Women's Guild of the CofS supported the Young Men's Mission to Kalimpong through direct support. They built the hospital and furnished it, and paid for the staff, bedding and comforts. How they did this was through a request that each guild "adopt a bed" for £10 per year for the nursing. "doctors and nurses felt a link with home to treat patients high in the Himalayas in beds labelled "Pollockshields, Pleasance, Perth Kippen, Wishaw"." For a discussion of the cultivation of a Scottish cultural identity overseas as a tool for economic and social advancement see: Harper, Emigration, pp.1-6.

[26]Q.120.per CofS *HFMR* 1 December 1 1879, "Darjeeling".

[27]Hewat, Vision and Achievement, pp.161-3; Perry, "History of Expansion", p.73.

[28]*The Saint Andrew*, July 1899 p.35.

the local men were ordained, and their congregations became the five Kirk Sessions of the EHM. In the same year seventy-eight schools were staffed by seventy three teachers, the Training Institute housed forty-five students, and the W.G. Charteris Hospital in Kalimpong, which was supported by the Women's Guild (WG) had staff-members treating between 500 and 100 patients either in the facility or on an out-patient basis.[29] John Graham received the Kaiser-i-Hind medal for service for India in 1903, and his wife Katherine in 1916.[30]

It is John Graham's work in Kalimpong which is highlighted in the annals of Presbyterian work in North India.[31] Like Robert Ashton of the LMS, Graham seems to have personified the new brand of evangelical commitment which came out of the Student Volunteer Movement, displaying not only a strong commitment to preaching and teaching, but also to forming personal contact with individuals in the local Christian community. However, he is remembered in the local Christian community as a dominant personality who overshadowed the local church leaders, and it is William Macfarlane who is remembered for "his intimate association with the local people, his identification with their needs, and his passion to train and promote them into the primary leadership of the church".[32] Thus it appears to have been due to the vision and dedication of Macfarlane that he was able to lay the groundwork for the much better-known work which was continued by the Grahams in Kalimpong beginning in the 1890s. While the displaced Nepalis who were settled in Gurkha regimental communities around Almora indicated some interest in mission activities, there was nowhere near the rate of conversion that occurred in areas surrounding Darjeeling and Kalimpong. This suggests that it was the medium of the message that made the difference in the EHM. But the picture is more complicated than can be simply explained as the result of personality. While mission work in these tea-planting regions was helped by the favourable disposition of the local Scottish managers towards its civilising influence, unlike the Almora case where the

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[29]Perry, "History of Expansion", pp.78-93; Cameron, *et al.*, Dictionary.
[30]This incident provides an example of a wife being 'married to the mission'. On congratulating Graham the Convenor of the FMC extends his congratulations to Mrs Graham as "she will be as pleased as though she got it". See: MS.7439 CofSFMC LB of the Convenor ff.495, J. McMurtrie to J. Graham, 8 January 1903; Minto, Graham, p.93.
[31]Hewat, Vision and Achievement, 163-65; Minto, Graham; Cameron, *et al.*, Dictionary, p.375 "Dr. J. Graham".
[32]Perry, "History of Expansion", p.88 (based on personal interviews).

mission had begun based on locally raised funds, the EHM was begun with the sanction of the General Assembly, and remained under its auspices. The LMS could never afford to fill in the gap left when the local British population was gradually repatriated, while the various Scottish auxiliaries which managed the different parts of the EHM mission had the financial and administrative support of the highest court of the CofS should the need arise. While they had this backing, mediated through the FMC, one of the great strengths of the EHM lay in the structure of its management and support.

Administrative difficulties did arise at times because agents working in the mission had been variously hired by the Women's Guild, the Scottish Universities Mission or the Young Men's Guild, but these do not seem to have been greater than in other missions without this unique makeup. There were also occasions when missionaries began work without permission, such as in 1892 when Miss Reid was reprimanded for opening a boarding school in Kalimpong entirely paid for by money raised by local Auxiliaries.[33] More often, the disparate source of candidate selection and funding which dominated in the mission from the 1880s onwards appears to have provided the mission with valuable links to Scotland which enabled it to hire well-trained workers from what was quite a limited pool, and attract funds from constituents facing many choices for their philanthropic urges.

[33]MS.7628 CofSWMAFM Secretary's Letters ff.21, H.C. Reid to Miss Reid, 4 March 1892.

Figure 4: Catechists in the 'Bhot' Country
"we must not ignore the work of the native brethren"

Kalimpong was a special project of the Young Men's Guild, which was established in 1881 and functioned very much in what was the manner typical of women's auxilliaries. Members supported the work of a specific station through fund-raising efforts and manpower. This movement was one expression of the new religiosity of Students' Missions, where a devotion to personal service was matched only by the desire to inspire the same degree of religious enthusiasm in others. In Scotland these movements were very much influenced by Archibald Charteris, who taught at New College and was influential in the establishment of the Women's Training Institute. However, the spirit of the movement was not restricted to Scotland. Another movement for young Scots, the Scottish Universities Mission, was formed in 1883. From 1887 the focus of the SUM was on men from Sikkim, to support their preparation as village teachers and preachers at the Training Institute in Darjeeling and then Kalimpong. The missionaries supported by these organisations were their tools in the mission field. By the end of the century the Scottish church had joined the debate about the effectiveness of spending mission funds to provide English higher education. John Graham's inspiring reports home ensured the continued

support of his brand of training Christian community leaders in Kalimpong: the "importance of vernacular teaching can be seen from the early days of the Darjeeling Mission.... no good could be expected from the employment of all sorts and conditions of men, untried and untrained".[34] The Training Institute had never limited its curriculum to the classroom. As early as the 1880s Macfarlane reported that enough young Christians enjoyed meeting together that he was required to run youth-groups four nights of every week.[35] These groups evolved into a Kalimpong branch of the CofS YMG in 1890. Graham reported that the Fellowship section met on Sunday evenings to study the scripture. An athletic section met Sunday afternoons, and a music section met with Mrs. Graham on Saturday evenings. "Altogether the Guild has been a great blessing. It has brought us all together in a way we never were before and gives opportunities to the better lads to bring their influence to bear on their brothers".[36] The missionaries in the EHM managed successfully to supplement a strategy of training church workers in a formal centre of learning with fellowship with the extra-curricular activities that were so important in Scottish universities during the same period. In Scotland the young men who attended the same such 'fun' activities in turn became the teachers of Sunday Schools and leaders of youth activities in local congregations. Their counterparts in Kalimpong travelled throughout Sikkim and Darjeeling and into Nepal and Bhutan and established primary schools which provided basic reading, writing and arithmetic instruction alongside the Christian message, in Hindi, Nepali, Lepcha and Bhutia. "As at home, lessons are provided outside work hours for children and adults who would not have access to education otherwise".[37]

The trajectory of change for women's work in the EHM is similar to that for female missionaries throughout the 1870s, with the notable exception of Miss Macfarlane who acted as Head of the Training Institute from a very early date, 1871. The first few women visited and taught in local homes and worked with children in schools and orphanages. The presence of a local Anglo-Indian community allowed the mission to rely on inexpensive, locally-hired staff to the same extent as the mission operated by their male

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[34]*The Saint Andrew*, October 1893.
[35]Perry, "History of Expansion", p.77.
[36]APS.1.79.5 CofS Guild Mission to British Bhutan: Report for the Year 1890, 21 February 1891, p.39.
[37]*The Saint Andrew*, October 1893.

colleagues, and at this stage their work was primarily limited to the larger centres. For example, in 1886 Miss Mackintosh, "a Eurasian lady under the instruction of Miss McGillewie and advice of Mr. Turnbull", was hired when it was suggested that the area required a full-time worker.[38] In 1888 Hindi was added to her teaching load when her Scottish supervisor was forced to take leave on health grounds. The Ladies Association asked her to take over supervision of the Bengali teachers as well and that she

> ought to visit the *Zenanas* weekly to see that the work is being sufficiently done....in your absence we would like to have Miss Mackintosh to act in consultation with Mr. Turnbull... You say in your letter that Miss Mackintosh cannot do the Bengali work, but as we believe she knows enough of Bengali to teach children, we think she might be able to overlook the work of the two Bengali teachers.[39]

For her efforts she was paid Rs.14 per month, the same amount of money it cost to hire a horse and cart for the same length of time.[40] Miss Mackintosh was still employed by the mission twenty years later.[41] Since there was no *purdah* (segregation of women) system for the Nepalese, except among the nobility of whom there were few in Darjeeling and none among the pupils at the school, their work was more like district visiting which occurred in Britain and less like women's work in other parts of India. Thus one woman mentioned "Zenana visiting is really a misnomer". This is an interesting point of departure from the oft-underlined image of the 'Zenana' as separate and different. This image which placed Indian women in a position subordinate to European women was a powerful one in mission literature.[42] The women remain 'other', although in a less refined manner than in literature constructed around the Zenana:

> she then seated herself on a chair and after a while raised one foot and placed it on the seat, clasping her knee, and apparently very much more at her ease in this attitude. So soon, however, did she perceive the different

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[38]MS.Dep.298.32 CofSLC MB, Letter from A. Turnbull, dealt with 19 October 1886.
[39]MS.7628 CofSWAFM Secretary's Letters, March 1888.
[40]MS.Dep.298.33 CofSLC MB, Letters from Darjeeling, dealt with 20 March 1888 and 16 April 1889.
[41]MS.Dep.298.15 CofSFMC Report of the Committee for 1910 p.35.
[42]Flemming, Leslie (ed.) (1989) Women's Work for Women: Missionaries and Social Change in Asia (London); Burton, Antoinette (1990), "'The White Woman's Burden': British Feminists and 'the Indian Woman', 1865-1915", *WSIF* 13(4), 295-308; Descriptions of *Zenanas* were plentiful in nineteenth-century mission literature. For a visual representation of a group of segregated women see: SLAAFEI (1873) *FMI* "Frontispiece" XVI.

> manners of her new friends that, after a second visit, I never saw the foot put upon the chair; and now I fancy it would surprise her as much as it then surprised me to see her do it.[43]

The missionaries were quite frank in reporting that what attracted the women visited was that the local ladies enjoyed singing and appreciated the basic training provided in literacy and numeracy, and that they preferred instruction in handiwork over religious instruction. Similar comments were made from stations all over India. The same has been said about the girls who participated in mid-week groups at London-based chapels, underlining that in a variety of places those being taught had the ability to choose the message most relevant to their situation, and that their reasons for participating in church community could have varied meanings.[44] In the 1880s and 1890s, when qualified women teachers and medical workers joined the mission, their training, higher pay and nationality effectively separated them from the locally hired visitors. This re-created in the mission field differences which already existed in Scottish churches.[45]

From the mid-1850s the hiring practices of the WA indicate their commitment to employing women with a solid education to staff the high schools in Kalimpong and Darjeeling. The Women's Guild took on this work for the EHM, and its Aberdeen Auxiliary, in particular, narrowed its focus on Sialkot in an attempt to exert a direct influence on the development of the mission rather than simply to raise funds for the central committee in Edinburgh. There was never a glut of candidates, but the women seem to have been able to attract qualified teachers and nurses. Qualified doctors were a different story. The 1880s was the first full decade in which girls had access to an education to become professionally qualified, and women medical students were forced to leave Britain to complete the necessary clinical practice after the degrees until the end of the 1880s.[46] Added to the fact that few women were medically qualified was the further limitation that fewer still wished to work in the Empire, let alone join the mission endeavour.[47] In 1893 the WA was concerned over the fact that it could not find a female

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[43]Q.120.per CofS *HFMR* "Report of a Visit", 1 August 1877, p.444.
[44]Prochaska, Women and Philanthropy, pp.154-56.
[45]Macdonald, "Women and Presbyterianism", pp.603-626.
[46]Friend, "Professional Women", pp.10-22.
[47]Ibid., p.191; and Burton, "Contesting the Zenana", 368-397.

doctor to staff the new hospital, and debated whether or not it would go against its constitution to hire a man.[48] The WA decided it was not and in May 1893 hired Dr. Ponder "as all efforts to find a female doctor for the hospital have failed....this will ensure the new hospital does not stand empty."[49] The Aberdeen Auxiliary did not experience similar difficulties. Its work was focused on the hospital in Sialkot, and the Scottish women missionaries also supervised the work of two local bible-women, thirteen teachers and three nurses locally.[50] The first female doctor was sent to Sialkot in 1893, the same year that the central Guild failed to find a suitable candidate. In an interesting turn-around Miss Cadell was actually from Edinburgh, trained in Glasgow, and was appointed in Aberdeen.[51] In 1900 Free Church women were asked to join the effort, and they provided money for hospital equipment in Sialkot and to provide a second doctor for the hospital. They managed to raise the funds to send Elizabeth Selkirk in 1902, but by the turn of the century the Auxiliary was already experiencing difficulties in holding up their financial obligation to the mission.[52] In 1908 the Medical Sub-committee of Aberdeen WAFM discussed handing their work over to the FMC with stipulations that women's medical work continue, but stressed that they did "not agree to be merely a fund-raising body".[53] The hospital closed briefly and then re-opened as a Welfare Clinic for women and children and as an ante-natal clinic. In the teens and twenties Aberdeen Guilds were making either £3 or £1 donations per year to support the Sialkot and Kalimpong work, but these were given grudgingly. They seem to have found it easier to raise much larger amounts of money to buy items like communion plates and organs in their own churches.[54]

Occasionally a set of letters survive which shed light on how missionaries experienced life in India. Scottish writers were quite willing to describe both the good and the bad, and

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[48]MS.Dep.298.33 LAFMC MB ff.577a, 16 May 1893.
[49]MS.Dep.298.33 LAFMC MB ff.519a, 20 June 1893.
[50]MS.Dep.298.32 Synod of Aberdeen Auxiliary of the CofSWAFM Report of the Sialkot Mission, 1915.
[51]MS.Dep.298.33 LAFMC MB ff.18, (applied) and ff.617, 18 July 1893 (appointed).
[52]ACA.Acc 66/II/3 *FECM*, May 1901; ACA.CH/492/11 Greyfriars Parish WG Secretary's MB, 12 December 1900; MS.7992 CofSWAFM Applications ff.141, and 170; and MS.Dep.298.12 CofSFMC MB, 18 November 1902.
[53]MS.Dep.298.60a Synod of Aberdeen Auxiliary WAFM MB of the Medical sub-Committee, 5 May 1908, 24 November 1908 and 12 December 1909.
[54]ACA.CH2 492 12 Greyfriars WG MB records the ladies donating £3 per year up to 1913 when the amount dropped to £1; after 2 February 1921 they said they would no longer support Sialkot.

there is no hint of an evangelical triumph. Rather, Scottish men and women described their lives in terms of surmountable challenges and doubt. This echoes the qualities which were highlighted in Scottish candidates' applications, and appreciated in mission adventure stories. Writing at the turn of the century, Annie Douglas described her work in central India. Her experiences and attitudes parallel those of workers in the EHM and Sialkot. She spelled out the reality of work on the ground. The children in the orphanage were loveable and attractive yet deceitful, and the missionaries were forced to turn children away because eighty-six children were housed in space for forty. The result was that children slept in the dining room and staff quarters, and it was impossible to isolate children with infectious diseases. Their industrial work probably represents the norm. The ladies were involved in cotton cleaning but Douglas puts the fact that their project was not making money down to a lack of business knowledge. She was a worker who acknowledged her dependence on local people and expressed her appreciation of their commitment not only to paid work, but to extra-curricular voluntary activities which took up their evenings and Saturdays. The school teachers also taught Sunday School and gave extra classes to prepare the girls for their University entrance exams.[55]

Dr. Graham's report to the General Assembly in 1890 was similarly full of interesting everyday information. It emphasised the variety of work he was engaged in, and true to his Guild roots, was not limited to his ministerial duties. He also readily acknowledged the work of the local Christians, reportedly looking after little congregations of 15-50 members. "Catechists are really Assistant Ministers - not yet ordained but conduct Sunday services and prayer or Bible meetings nearly every night of the week. They are in touch with them and have influence over them such as we foreigners, much as we would wish it, never can have".[56] In this Report Graham limited his role to that of secretary to a council of unordained elders. The promise of this Report was answered through his long career and the steady growth of churches in Darjeeling and Kalimpong. However, this seductively solid piece of evidence is undercut by the recent reminiscences of Nepali Church members who suggest Graham may not have actually been as accommodating as he believed to be the case.

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[55]MS.7988 WCUFCofS Incoming Letters (Punjab) ff.218, 1 February 1901.
[56]APS.1.79.5 CofSFMC Darjeeling Report for the Year 1890, pp.10-12.

4.2.3 Home Support for the Missions

Control of women's work in the Scots Presbyterian Missions was centred in Edinburgh and to a lesser extent in Glasgow. Like its LMS counterpart in London, the feminine mission leadership in Edinburgh consisted of the wives, daughters and sisters of prominent ministers and supporters of the Scottish mission movement. However, strong regional committees, particularly in Glasgow and Aberdeen, attempted to develop and sustain mission work independent of the central committee. In doing so they met the needs of both the FMC and the local boards, since the former gained badly needed funds and the latter felt empowered.[57] This fact had a direct impact on the creation and support of the missions in the Himalayan region in terms of manpower and funds. In a theoretical sense local action was a demonstration of Presbyterian theology and church structure based on concepts of personal obligation and commitment, which not only helped create the individuals and methods which were exported to India, but also resulted in a more strictly defined regional support structure in Scotland than existed in either the CIM or the LMS at the time. Local auxiliaries called on local pride, and drew parallels between the EHM and Aberdeen in order to create a sense of shared familiarity, and obligation to continue support. Their strategy was successful in the short term, but eventually declining interest and spiralling medical and administrative costs resulted in the Aberdeen Auxiliary re-focusing their work in less expensive directions and then ceding it to the national committee.

This regionalism might be explained by distance, however, this independent streak is indicative of more than geography. The Aberdeen women could not participate in the Edinburgh committees in a meaningful way because they were simply too far away and as a result they chose to pursue their own work. Further to this, Scotland retains strong regional identities to this day such that the Highlands and Islands, the North-East, the Northern Isles and the Borders each have distinct religious identities and ways of life. For women this resulted in popular images of the 'fisher-lassies' of the North Coast, factory girls who dominated the Dundee jute industry, and the disparate images of the middle-

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[57]Ross, Andrew C (1972), "Scottish Missionary Concern, 1874-1914: A Golden Era?" *SHR* LI, pp.52-72.

class committee member and the industrial poor woman in the Cowgate district of Edinburgh.[58] That Edinburgh saw these groups as 'other' can be seen in the home mission movements in which Scottish foreign missions were grounded. Aberdeen had a long history of ecclesiastical independence from Edinburgh.[59] By the nineteenth century Covenant theology had been distilled at the level of popular religious belief in the form of a personal contract for absolute obedience to God and to the Church and its elders. This then served as the theoretical framework in which individuals functioned in the Church; each Christian had a personal vocation and their faith obliged them to participate to the best of their ability. Membership in a church community further reinforced the necessity of service. Male church members could have a say in the governing of their local church as elders, and as such had the opportunity to represent their local congregation at the regional or national level. The women's auxiliaries were structured in a parallel manner to the courts of the church with the result that the institutional mechanisms were in place to connect individual members to the national body, although some may have felt inhibited to explore these connections because of their position in a congregation's social, economic and educational hierarchy.[60] Thus on the individual level it was simply not possible for local women to limit their participation in missions to fund-raising, and the auxiliary structure of the church had put in place the means for their participation. If they were being invited to take an interest in missions, accepting the challenge meant accepting responsibility and not simply donating money. Coupled to this was the practical concern with controlling funds which was a constant refrain from all mission supporters.[61]

Aberdeen in particular also had a long tradition of university education, of student interest in missions, and of university access for women.[62] This local reality put the idea that women were increasingly gaining access to enter higher education into a local context. Mission auxiliaries were proud of 'their' workers who either hailed from the Aberdeen region, or had participated in their congregations while attending the University. The local

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[58]Macdonald, "Women and Presbyterianism", p.42.
[59]Cameron, *et al.*, Dictionary, p.1 "Aberdeen Doctors" and pp.214-219 "Covenant Theology" and "Covenanters".
[60]Macdonald, "Women and Presbyterianism", Appendix: "Two Examples of the WG".
[61]ACA.CH2 492 12 Greyfriars WG MB, 20 December 1909.
[62]Piggin, Stuart and John Roxborough (1985) The St. Andrews Seven: The Finest Flowering of Missionary Zeal in Scottish History, (Edinburgh), pp. 1, 41 and 79-80.

women's groups and Sunday Schools were more likely to support the foreign mission work begun by such individuals because of this sense of affinity. Their identification with individual women was particularly important throughout the last two decades of the nineteenth-century until the beginning of the inter-war period when support of foreign missions dropped in the wider British Protestant community.[63]

However, the WMA also employed resources other than identification with mission workers to encourage their supporters. A pamphlet published in 1915 illustrates additional methods used in Scotland to make women increasingly connected to the work in the field.[64] From the beginning, women's work in Sialkot was organised by the Aberdeen Auxiliary, not always an easy job given the task of raising and allocating funds, and managing staffing and administrative detail. The very maps on the front of the pamphlet made a link between the area surrounding Aberdeen in Scotland and the location of the mission work in Sialkot. The maps were scaled so that Aberdeen and surrounding area were the same size as India. This had the effect of linking the two, but it also reduced the latter in importance. The Scottish map named local Presbyteries of the Synod of Aberdeen in order to include the reader as part of the larger mission, while the Indian map remained uncluttered with only Sialkot labelled in India. This emphasised its importance and turned attention away from other prominent Scottish mission work.

The pamphlet continued to draw strong parallels between work being done in the field and at home. Two pages of text were devoted to describing the field, and two more the work at home in "Methods of Response" and "Brief Sketch of the Auxiliary". Practical issues which are pointed out to the reader are that other missions are active in the region, but the fields very carefully do not overlap. While the American UP Mission had a hospital in the city the Scottish Mission Hospital served the villages. "No wide Atlantic Ocean divides the Anglo-Saxon race at Sialkot".[65] That equal attention is devoted to work performed at home as that done in India underscored the importance of the home contribution. As was the case in Congregational Chapels, support for, and interest in

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[63]Shirreffs, Charles (1901) Missionaries of Aberdeen and the North of Scotland Who Are Now in Foreign Parts (Aberdeen); AML (1936) The Church College in Aberdeen Complete Roll of Alumni (Aberdeen); Maughan, "Regions Beyond", Chapter 5.
[64]MS.Dep.298(32) Synod of Aberdeen WAFM Sialkot Mission, 1915.
[65]Ibid., p.4.

foreign missions actually figured less prominently in Scottish women's interests than did work for home missions, and work for their own churches.[66] This fact underlines just how crucial it was for mission literature like this pamphlet to connect women to the Christian community being created in North India. "Methods of Response" suggested activity, and demanded a practical and immediate reply. In this pamphlet the suggested response was to raise funds. Six fund-raising methods were suggested, and it reiterated that a small effort realising just a little money would go a long way in India.

The final appeal was aimed at women in particular. The paper goes on to point out how important women had been throughout the history of Scottish missions, and Aberdeen women in particular. However, the language used to invite response is different than of other missions. It underlines the regional basis of work which it describes in terms of partnership, and its matter of fact language creates a tone of realistic expectation. The auxiliary's involvement in Sialkot is described as answering a request for help which the WA in Edinburgh had been unable to address. "The Sialkot Mission has repeated the story of the special sphere - kith and kin in the foreign field; a growing Mission, the need abroad for the deepening extension of the Home-Organisation; responsibility felt, shared and met".[67] The writers underline the importance of co-operation, helpfulness, and loyalty, and call on the intelligence of their readers, as opposed to relying on emotive examples of helpless natives "the past has shown that with lack of knowledge there was lack of adequate resources, and that with the spread of knowledge there came the support needed".[68]

However powerfully made, these arguments failed to impress the various Guilds and WMA Auxiliaries in the Aberdeen area as their annual givings steadily declined until the end of the decade, something which underlines just how narrow was the base of mission support. These arguments constructed around notions of commitment and empowerment were well received, but only among the same select group of middle-class families who led auxiliaries of the WA and WG, and whose daughters were some of the first to be educated and gain access to the professions, and who formed the pool of mission

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[66]BRO.D 10 7 Trinity Chapel MB; D/10 7 Independent Chapel, Abington MB.
[67]MS.Dep.298(32) Synod of Aberdeen WAFM Sialkot Mission, 1915, p.7.
[68]Ibid.

candidates. The degree to which Scottish women had better access to education than their English colleagues has been exaggerated as part of the same literature which appealed to notions of Scottish hard work and self-determination.[69] Although eighteenth-century Presbyterianism had emphasised the importance of education for women, this education was limited to basic doctrinal understanding and biblical literacy. However, by the early nineteenth century the parochial system which had sustained it was breaking down due to population pressures and rapid industrialisation, with the result that in Glasgow fifty percent or fewer of five to ten year old girls attended any sort of school at all (1851 census).[70] Some of the poor in Glasgow and Edinburgh lived under appalling conditions which church voluntary societies acted to redress.[71] The women hired as missionaries were chosen from the individuals at the thin end of the late-nineteenth-century educational wedge, who in the 1870s and 1880s gained access to the new High Schools, and if they could manage it, were granted positions in special courses in St. Andrews University and the University of Aberdeen, and after the Universities Act of 1889, at Edinburgh. A large part of this small wedge were the children of ministers - three of the first eight women to graduate from Edinburgh were daughters of the manse, and it was some of these women who were applying to be missionaries, and leading local auxiliaries which supported the overseas work.[72] Only very occasionally were the less advantaged group of Presbyterian women referred to, as in this discussion of an upcoming furlough visit: "the Edinburgh missionary meeting is to be in St. Bernard's on the fifteenth. Miss Mungle being a member of that church will attract a good many among others, many of the poor people she has long visited and who might not come to a strange church".[73]

Again the point must be made that the language of domesticity which was used to create a need for a unique type of "women's work" in missions reflected an ideal not realised by most Scottish women. The 1851 census indicated that two million of the six million

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[69]Brown, Callum G. (1983) "The Sunday School Movement in Scotland, 1780-1914" *SCHS* 21(1), 3-26.
[70]Webb, R.K. (1953) "Literacy Among the Working Classes in Nineteenth-century Scotland", *SHR* 32, pp.100-114.
[71]MacLaren, Allan (1967-8) "Presbyterianism and the Working Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City", *SHR* 46-7, 115-139; Brown, C.G. (1987) The Social History of Religion in Scotland Since 1730 (London); Brown, Kenneth (1988) A Social History of the Non-Conformist Ministry in England and Wales 1800-1930 (Oxford).
[72]Macdonald, "Women", Chapter 5.
[73]MS.7628 WAFM LB of the Secretary ff.78, 7 September 1899 to Miss C. Reid.

women in Scotland were self-supporting, and, for them, labour included not only nursing, teaching and domestic work, but also agriculture, working in textile mills, and seasonal work related to the fishing industry. It is no wonder that any local Women's Guild or Women's Foreign Mission auxiliary, run by the minister's female relatives, with their different education and background, and supporting foreign activities, might fail to interest these other-minded women. Of 924 Guild branches, only 150 made contributions to foreign missions in 1904.[74] A recent study of two specific Women's Guilds concluded that while the Guild gave women in the church "purpose, structure and recognition," they were "unashamedly hierarchical" and "were not effective as a means of enabling or training women for leadership".[75]

4.3 Institutional Developments: Did Being Presbyterian Matter?

The Scottish Presbyterian missions aimed to extend their unique vision of Christianity with its emphasis on an apostolic pattern of faith, order, discipline and worship under the supreme authority of the scriptures, and organised under the orderly ministry of elected elders deriving their authority from their community. Presbyterianism emphasised austere, cerebral study and worship over a sensory expression of faith. Individual effort to prove worthy to God and the community led to an emphasis on individual study of the Bible. Here was the origin of the Presbyterian emphasis on basic literacy skills, the importance of which was extended to women as well as men. However, both Calvin and Knox adhered to the principle that men and women existed in a natural order created by God in which women are subordinate to men. The resulting church was structured around male elders, with women members playing crucial supporting roles. Women's work in missions led to situations which challenged traditional gendered roles and perhaps even the nature of the church itself. Missions were practically affected by this religious system/pattern in four basic areas: attitudes towards education and regarding fiscal responsibility, the position of women in church and society, and the prescribed form of church government. These are analysed in the remainder of this chapter.

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[74]ACA.CH2 492 11 Greyfriar's Parish WG Secretary's MB Letter from Mrs. Charteris, 19 December 1904.
[75]Macdonald, "Women and Presbyterianism", pp.621-23; also see: Brown, "Sprouting Wings", pp.95-120.

4.3.1 The Emphasis on Education

These basic tenets informed the nature and direction of Scots mission work and church building. Under Alexander Duff's early leadership Scottish missions focused on higher education as a means of training individuals to a point where they were ready to receive the (Western) Christian message. The argument against this method of mission work was that it catered to a small, select group of people, and was overly secular in focus. In the late 1870s the FMC decided to re-focus its resources on vernacular teaching at the primary school level. In doing so they hoped to reach more people and a wider spectrum of society, including women. In order to do so lay activities took on an increasing importance in mission work, and concepts of professional mission labour were expanded. This change in focus coincided with a growing demand at home to increase women's participation in missions. Women were prepared to expand their roles as fund-raisers, administrators and to assume new roles as single workers. However, this was never a straightforward process since it demanded a reorganisation of the boundaries of acceptable behaviour, both in terms of church life and women's entry into professional work.

Education served as an obvious entry point for women into mission life, since it was the site where several arguments which supported women's entry into professional service intersected. In Scotland arguments about the provision of primary religious instruction in the home by wives and mothers were long-standing and well-articulated.[76] Mothers' educative role had been extended to include women teaching primary school and Sunday School classes, and being granted professional status based on educational criteria and set apart by social convention. Mission advocates sought to tap into this resource by emphasising the duty of educated middle-class women to protect the interests of those who had not had the same benefits as themselves, and the duty of the FMC to allow them to do so. Once in the mission field, the mixture of gendered assumptions about women's innate domestic abilities modified their professional description of classroom teachers and resulted in an expanded definition of teacher which included the wider school community. It followed that the *Zenana* visits, district visiting of the lower classes, and the provision

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[76]Webb, R.K. (1953) "Literacy"; Brown, C.G., Religion. This may have been to the exclusion of men. For a discussion of this see: Abrams, Lynn (1999) "'There was Nobody like my Daddy': Fathers, the Family and the Marginalisation of Men in Modern Scotland" *SHR* LXXVIII (2)206, 219-242.

of basic health care begun by mission wives could be systematised as an integral part of education.[77] As better-educated workers arrived, emphasis shifted from women's 'innate abilities' to systematic training. Both the CofS and FCofS provided their workers with the time and resources for language study; by the first half of the 1880s the FCofSWA allowed the first year or two of an appointment to be spent gaining language competence, after which pay increased. Language took on particular importance in Darjeeling where so many diverse communities were the focus of mission work. By 1886 women were allowed two years to learn the vernacular while expected to perform only part-time work, but if they failed to pass exams at the end of this time their engagement was terminated.[78]

4.3.2 Scottish Financial Attitudes

An obvious difference between Scots Presbyterian and other missions is the method by which mission work was planned and funded. Discussions about the management of donations, salaries and their review, and the business side of the mission in the field dominated mission correspondence throughout this period. This focus on matters of 'this world' was not unique to the Scottish missions. LMS correspondence was also filled with financial concerns and details of building sites; but the Presbyterians had a unique outlook on economic matters which stands out against both the LMS and the CIM. The FMC were conservative with donated funds, a form of extreme fiscal responsibility which reflected responsible right action, and also influenced the direction of the mission. Ordained Scottish missionaries were paid generous salaries throughout the nineteenth century, a fact which might have allowed them to support a comfortable lifestyle, but which appears, instead, to have allowed them to ensure the future health and safety of themselves and their families. This relatively high rate of pay was explained as appropriate given the education and professional status of ordained Presbyterian clergy. The value of male and female lay workers was not rewarded by similarly high salaries until the end of the century. The expectation of native leadership of local churches coincided with the expectation that local congregations would quickly gain self-supporting status, and assume the costs of local evangelical activity. In the EHM local churches had gone a long

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[77]Paul, Glendora B. (1986) "Presbyterian Missionaries and the Women of India During the Nineteenth Century" *ICHR* 20(2) pp.118-126.

[78]APS.3.87.56 Free Church Rules for Missionaries 1894, (Edinburgh); MS.7635 CofSWFM Letters to the Secretary (Darjeeling) ff.25, A. Henderson to Miss Greenshields, 20 March 1829.

way towards meeting this expectation by the last decade of the century.

This financial outlook was the institutional manifestation of a strict belief in individual responsibility. Similar to the way in which in the Presbyterian context evangelical enthusiasm was reined in by an adherence to scriptural authority and church traditions, proper financial stewardship was not forgotten in the excitement of embarking on the mission endeavour. There is no shortage of evidence regarding how carefully Church money was spent on overseas work. This caution would have been antithetical to Hudson Taylor who began projects and recruited workers based on the assurance that God would reward prayer.

> One 'earned' money by prayer. We lived from hand to mouth in those days.... but it was God's hand and our mouth; this is a distinction which makes a great difference.... Our episodes of scarcity were intended to be new revealings of God's love and power, if only we could be attentive to the inner meaning of things.[79]

The GA would have had none of that. From its inception the finance sub-committee of the FMC agreed that "money spent must be a culmination of a years' income over expenditure and recommend that it be capitalised and only the interest spent" and the FMC called for retrenchment when the principle was threatened.[80]The LA were careful to record funds in hand for every new worker.[81] In the nineties the Darjeeling missionaries were constantly building, but were cautioned when they proceeded with work without permission;

> This sanction has been accompanied with a severe censure for the commencement of works without any sanction being obtained from this Committee. I may say that the Committee were very much displeased that so many alterations should have been made in our plans and that building should have commenced without their being consulted....It seems to me much more unbelief to commence a work without counting the cost, than to wait till the means are supplied and that it is less dishonouring to God to worship in an unsuitable building than to get into debt for the purpose of building a suitable one.[82]

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[79]Austin, "Pilgrims and Strangers", pp.40 and 216.
[80]MS.Dep.298.4 CofS Sub-committee on India Missions Report, p.186.
[81]Dep.298.33 CofSLAFM MB ff.569, 16 November 1892.
[82]MS.7553 CofSFMC LB of the Secretary ff.928, J. Maclagan to A. Turnbull, 2 March 1893.

Unlike the case in the LMS stations in this study, in 1893 the new missionary at Chumba was told "it is out of our power to do anything as to building a church at Dalhousie. It does not fall to us to build a church for military purposes even if we had the funds which at present we do not".[83] The strict lines of authority in the Presbyterian missions kept in check the enthusiasm of missionaries in the field, and the FMC was quick to refute sophisticated arguments designed to tap into Presbyterian pride. Missionaries were also firmly reprimanded from Edinburgh regarding their personal financial matters. While the LMS was willing to quietly pay E. Oakley's debt in Almora rather than open the mission to criticism, for the Presbyterians the action of one worker reflected on the entire mission, and there was no choice but that the individual face his or her financial transgressions. In particular, when the worker was a woman her error threatened the esteem of the whole Ladies Association:

> The Bank proposed to return your cheque which would have been very unpleasant for you and as I have no doubt the mistake is owing to your having misunderstood the state of your branch's account. I have today paid it take care not again to overdraw your account. Though it is a small sum, you have no idea how much trouble it is to put up cheques honoured as our rules for financial management are very strict, requiring sanction of the Ladies Financial sub-committee for any payment between meetings and the signature of one of the gentlemen for every cheque. If I may take the liberty of making the suggestion, it would be well for you to know exactly the state of your branch account to prevent mistakes.[84]

The Presbyterian missionaries tended to be well educated and well paid, but they were expected to manage their funds well. This led both to careful saving, and for some the notion that a middle-class lifestyle was necessary in India. In the CIM it was unacceptable to express concern with material comfort, while the Scottish administration set up Life Insurance for its Missionaries in 1877 and the mechanism by which the widows of missionaries and their children could be supported.[85] Insurance for female agents, however, was not even discussed by the WA until 1903, when it was rejected, underlining

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[83]MS.7553 CofSFMC LB of the Secretary ff.163, J. Maclagan to M. Walker, 21 June 1893.
[84]MS.7628 CofSWA LB of the Secretary (Darjeeling) E. Williamson to Miss C. Reid, 12 December 1888.
[85]MS.Dep.298.13 Rules for the Fund for the Widows and Children of Missionaries, 1850.

how precarious was the position inhabited by single British women.[86] Presbyterian missionaries were able to save money. Macfarlane wrote to the Convenor of the FMC in 1882 asking him about investments being made on his behalf, which amounted to £350 in three separate places - he preferred railroads since they offered a good rate of interest and were safe. This represented three years of his salary - an amazing amount of money.[87] Similarly, in April 1901 it was reported that Miss McGilliwie had died after fifteen years service and left £450 to the mission.[88] While leaving money to the mission is not unusual, the amount is. This represents more than four full years of her salary, suggesting she was a careful spender, but also that her salary was more than merely to meet subsistence costs.[89] There was no indication that either of these individuals had inherited wealth, and even if so, they still appear to have been careful with their funds.

In the mid-1880s missionaries were canvassed concerning their views on pay as part of a review process. The feedback from one of the ordained missionaries was indicative of the same sort of elitist attitudes the CIM set out, in part, to combat.

> I approve of medical missionaries being put on the same footing as ordained missionaries. Might I suggest that missionary teachers who are university graduates should also be put on the same footing. Their education both before and after entering college is by no means inexpensive, and their tastes are quite the same as those of ordained missionaries. It costs them as much to live, and in India quite as much is expected of them as of ordained missionaries, and in some cases even more is expected.[90]

Dr. Hutchison's letter also indicates changing attitudes towards what constitutes and should be rewarded as professional missionary activity. Five years later the CofS pay scale was revised to reflect different levels of lay worker (teachers, evangelists and fully

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[86]MS.Dep.298.10 CofSFMC MB ff.175, 2 July 1903.
[87]MS.7555 CofSFMC Private LB ff.52, J. Maclagan to Wm. Macfarlane, 29 December 1882. Although the Macfarlane family could have been well off this doesn't seem to be the case since when Miss Macfarlane joined her brother in India in 1870 she was granted outfit money (for necessities and travel) which she petitioned to have raised from £100 to £130. She was also granted a half-salary of £50 per month. See: MS.Dep.298.30 CofSWAFM MB, 9 November 1870.
[88]MS.Dep.298.9 LA Minutes ff.408, 17 November 1885 (appointment of Miss McGillewie to Calcutta); MS.Dep.298.12 FMC MB ff.306, "WA News", 14 November 1899.
[89]Dep.298.35 WAFM MB ff.2, "Report of Legacy", 16 April 1901.
[90]MS.Dep.298.10 CofSFMC MB ff.109, Dr. Hutchison, 15 November 1887.

trained engineers; and artisan evangelists). Their pay increased, particularly with respect to newly- hired ordinands,[91] taking into account relative education and professional experience. Since only a medical degree took as long as theological training, ordained workers' pay status remained at the top of the pay scale. The pay that women teachers received as new workers caught up with that of their male colleagues at the end of the century. However, male workers received higher incremental pay rises on a set basis, while for women, pay rises were given on a case by case basis until after 1910, and women did not benefit from the benefits scheme available to men. Women doctors were similarly paid less than their male colleagues until after 1910.

4.3.3 Home Relations Between Ladies and Men's Committees

The central feature of Presbyterianism has been powerfully masculine language employed both to imagine the divine, and manage the institution of the church.[92] While Calvin recognised the importance of women's spirituality, both Calvin and Knox agreed that its expression was governed by a natural order, "created by God and knowable by all people, which was for women to live in submission and obedience to men".[93] Thus a tension existed between a tradition of gendered spiritual equality, and strict obedience to the orderly ministry of elect, male elders. Scottish Presbyterianism encompassed a commitment to granting women access to education and a demand for personal religious commitment and that each person accept the responsibilities of public religious life. Yet in practical terms women could not participate directly in church government at any level until the twentieth century. The challenge is to understand the ways in which women's participation in church life changed over the nineteenth century, particularly as a result of women's participation in missions. The Presbyterian churches had the attitudes and mechanisms in place for lay participation. Mission work provided individuals an opportunity to challenge gendered rules about right methods of participation, and contributed to the process of redefining a church structure with more freedom of choice for individual participation.

The various women's organisations created in the middle of the nineteenth century were

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[91]MS.298.11 CofSFMC Finance Minute ff.64-69, 5 July 1892.
[92]Brown, "Sprouting Wings", p.98.
[93]Macdonald, "Women and Presbyterianism", p.27.

voluntary organisations which derived their authority from their adherence to a constructed ideal of innate feminine qualities, and legitimacy from the masculine authority of the CofS, both on an individual and administrative level. These granted them the freedom to act, but within limits which were under constant negotiation both at home and in the mission field. As early as 1861 the LA was reminded that as long as they wished to assume the mantle of the CofS, they must adhere to its patterns of authority. In January the relationship of the LA to 'the General Assembly's Committee' was brought up in FMC. Its Minutes recorded that it was "resolved that a communication be addressed to the Secretary of the LA for the purpose of asking whether that association still adhered to the original regulations as to their connection with the General Assembly Committee".[94] Two months later the FMC was "glad to learn that the LA are willing to co-operate with the GAC [General Assembly's Committee] according to the original regulations".[95] This official wording does not provide a clear picture of this early skirmish over who had the authority to appoint missionaries. Ultimately this power lay in the GA, since it had created only the FMC and not a parallel women's organisation to act as its sub-committee dealing with mission matters.

By the end of the century a role had nevertheless been created for women in missions which relied less on skills which women were supposed to have mastered due to their feminine nature, and more on those they had been trained to perform. This role resulted from the individual effort of mission workers. It was aided by both the efforts of the women learning to function in the Church committee structure, and men like A. Charteris and J.H. Oldham who realised and welcomed the increased participation of lay workers of both genders. Annie Small is one who was both a result of this change, and a dynamic part of it. With long-serving mission parents she benefited from her connections to the church and mission establishment, and from education. With hindsight her observation was that, in the mission field, gendered assumptions about church work had given way to a more egalitarian form of decision-making and professional development than existed in the Presbyterian Church to which she returned after her mission service in India:

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[94]MS.Dep.298.4. CofSFMC Minutes of Sub-committee on India Missions, 26 January 1861.
[95]Ibid., 26 March 1861.

> I was never a member of a church at home until the end of my missionary career; I entered upon membership as a woman of considerable experience. In the missionary community from which I came we were a team. We aimed at co-ordinated, and well balanced inter-relation of all departments, of the work guided by constant consultation. This is, I think, the ideal of all foreign missionary service. The conditions of church service at home shocked me. There were, I found, two parallel working groups in most congregations; the official, and the other - mainly composed of women - which supplied the Sunday School teachers, the collectors of funds, visitors among the sick, the sorrowful, the broken. Each of these groups went their own way, practically irrespective of the other. I do not think I exaggerate when I say the greatest proportion of the work in many congregations was being done by women, silently and unobtrusively, with little acknowledgement or comment, without even a pretence of comradeship on the part of the other group.[96]

When, in the 1890s, professional women began to constitute a meaningful number of mission workers, it became impossible for men and women to work parallel with one another on stations and not intersect. This had a twofold effect. Distance and space, and the rhetoric of difference had been initially used by women to create the need for their work. However, for practical reasons it became acceptable for women to work in more varied roles on stations. Further, what had been considered women's work became increasingly gender neutral. This was in part due to pressure for change from home - newer evangelicalism with its commitment to social concerns, and women's increasing education - and the result of experiences in the field. Overall, gendered difference became gradually less apparent. In making a point, however, Small minimises the length of time this process took, and the pain involved. In her own case she left her initial appointment after three years and chose to work for most of her career as an independent worker, because she could not accept the authority of the MC over decisions she felt professionally qualified to make. Sorting out the structure of local mission administration necessitated the sorting out of relations between home committees as well. Because women chose to work within the Presbyterian Church structure, the administrators of women's work were forced to learn the Rules and agitate for change within the very Church structure which provided them with economic security, administrative backup and security of identity as Scottish Presbyterians.

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[96]quoted in Wyon, Three Windows, p.48.

4.3.4 Specific Instances of Conflict in the Field

The system of church government functioning in Scotland resulted in individuals who set in place mission councils and churches of a specific nature. Scottish missions struggled with questions surrounding how women workers with various educational achievements and of varied racial make-up, and native members and workers, all fit into the institutional structure of the mission.

It is interesting how positively Annie Small remembered the working relationships between men and women in the field as opposed to at home. This agrees with material collected for this study of the mission committees at home and the work done at the North Indian stations. While occasional flare-ups between men and women were documented, more took place between men, and between women living and working together. Certainly all the elements were in place for these conflicts to arise. The wives and relatives of male missionaries had to pass on their work to paid agents as was the case in other missions. The professional status of mission workers was changing due to more women joining missions and as the result of changing ideas regarding what was valid evangelical practice; and the agents working alongside one another were actually hired and paid by one of several mission support bodies, the WAFM, FMC, the WG or the UM. However, by 1901 William Stevenson seemed to be quite correct when he described the EHM to Winifred Plumbe on the eve of her departure to Darjeeling in 1901.

> You will find all arranged with the MC as thoughtfully and wisely as possible....each is expected to accommodate herself as far as possible to the needs of the situation as they arise and to do the best she can for the general cause, and to work harmoniously for her colleagues. And I am thankful to say that things go very sweetly on all our stations.[97]

Although everyone would have liked things to go sweetly, it was not always the case.

That unpleasant situations did arise is no surprise. These appear generally to reflect the confusion of establishing living and working conditions in a new situation. However, relatively fewer problems appear to have originated in the EHM mission requiring the

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[97]MS.7926 WFM LB of the Convenor, Wm. Stevenson to W. Plumbe, 22 October 1901.

attention of the various sending committees, than arose either in the LMS mission in UP, or in the CIM school at Chefoo. This is because the mechanisms were in place by which conflict could be resolved. Potential conflict was also minimised by the fact, that for the most part, Presbyterian mission workers had been raised in the Presbyterian traditions and adhered to the belief system and church structure under which they were hired. This is to say they had been raised to accept authority, and they had a strong sense of the accountability to that authority. The conflicts which arose in the Presbyterian missions in North India had specific personal and professional elements to them, and at times gender concerns figured into these, but in general each can be reduced to a questioning of the correct exercise of authority, and of the implementation of already existing rules. On four different occasions major conflicts erupted between individuals in North India. In each case the underlying cause of the problem was difficult to surmise, since often a small incident became mired in related events. A discussion of the reform of mission councils will follow.

What began as an acrimonious dispute between two co-workers in Calcutta in the 1870s, ended up as a matter before the GA in June 1885.[98] In the interval, several mission bodies failed to come to a decision on the matter. The Calcutta courts became involved, mission affairs made it into the press both in India and Glasgow, and as a result, the FMC established a firm presence on the LA who they regarded as having mismanaged the situation throughout. Mary Pigott had been the first woman employed in Calcutta by the CofSLA in the early 1870s. Her work in orphanages and girls' schools was set up "in consultation" with the local corresponding board. Their association was limited to financial concerns until the arrival of James Hastie, a missionary hired by the FMC 1879. By 1883 Hastie's and Pigott's working relationship had reached such a bad state that Pigott brought defamation charges against Hastie in the Calcutta courts which she lost initially, but eventually won on appeal.[99] He was subsequently jailed for non-payment of debts, and censored for his behaviour. Hastie employed damaging racial and sexual terms to defame Pigott, "this abominable woman - an illegitimate, half-caste whore" which indicates how precarious was a woman's professional standing in late-nineteenth-century

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[98]MS.Dep.298.31 CofSLAFM MB June 1879; Q.120.per CofS HFMR, 2 August 1880, "Female Education in India" pp.194-95; MS.Dep.298.32 CofS LAFM MB "Report of GA", June 1885.
[99]Dep.298.31 CofSLAFEI MB, June 1879 "refuse to accept the resignation of Miss Pigott".

Anglo-Indian society. He also described the FMC as "the blockheads in Edinburgh", which did not endear him to the Committee.[100] The result of the affair was that, although Pigott was exonerated, and despite the fact that her work was a strong source of funds both in Scotland and Calcutta, she did not receive the support of her colleagues and her work with the mission was ended. Pigott might have received the support of the MC in Calcutta had her work fallen under their jurisdiction, but as it was she had to stand alone against an unreasonable new colleague. The LA was censored, nominally because of members having made private correspondence public, but the whole case highlighted the importance of establishing uniform administrative procedures. Rules were set in place that resulted in the reports and expenditures of the LA being submitted to the FMC before presentation to the GA. Mary Pigott and the LA were caught in a situation where sufficient lines of authority had not been put in place in order to solve a difficulty, and then they made the unpardonable error of turning to the civil courts in order to solve the dispute. The GA acted slowly but decisively in order to ensure that the means were in place to solve any similar problems in the future and to keep the problem 'in house'. Hastie was hired by another mission.

Personality problems manifested themselves in a less dramatic manner as well. Darjeeling was the site of bickering between the male missionaries which went on for years. It might not be worth mention except that dealing with it filled the Convenor of the FMC's Letter Book for years with phrases such as, "my dear friend, this is not like you, and it is not what Christ would have said or done",[101] and other missionaries in the region complained that staffing had to be worked around these various difficulties. The first incident seems to have started over broken crockery - an incident which occurred when one missionary was using the home of the other.[102] The second involved housing arrangements.[103] These seem amusing in retrospect, but the results of their acrimony were a regular feature in mission letters, and in the local setting where decisions were made democratically on the Mission Council, such trifling affairs could stymie the smooth functioning of the decision-making process. In writing to the Convenor of the FMC these missionaries were

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[100]MS.7555 CofSFMC Private LB ff.1, 51, Wm. Hastie to Mr. Alston, 24 September 1883.
[101]MS.7539 CofSFMC LB of the Convenor ff.58, J. Maclagan to Wm. Hutchison, 30 January 1902.
[102]MS.7555 CofSFMC Private LB ff.99, J. Maclagan, 3 May 1883.
[103]MS.7539 CofSFMC LB of the Convenor ff.312, J. Maclagan, 2 October 1902.

bypassing correct procedure, but Maclagan seems to have had the ability to smooth feelings in this unofficial capacity.

In 1908 Miss Corbett, one of the female missionaries who had been working in Darjeeling for six years wrote to the LA proposing that her work be limited to children's schools since her school had grown from fifty to three hundred students.[104] This was not the first time the subject had been raised. In 1905 the LA had already told the FMC that Miss Corbett could not teach at the schools of both the LA, and the Training Institute.[105] The more serious issue she brought up had to do with supervision of her work. Since she was the only trained teacher, she felt that she need not be subject to the MC, which had been pressing her to take on the work at the Training Institute. The WA had tried to block Miss Corbett's transfer from their primary schools to the Training Institute at the committee level three years previously but had failed, presumably because the training of teachers at the Training Institute was perceived to have a wider-reaching effect than Miss Corbett's primary school classes. In 1908 the WA reply was swift and unequivocal; Miss Corbett had agreed to the regulations placing her work under the management of the MC and the rules could not be changed in an individual case. Miss Corbett resigned and took an appointment with another mission.[106] In this case Miss Corbett employed the language of professional knowledge to further her case, arguing that she knew better her qualities and capabilities, however, underlying this argument was the reality that she was deploying those skills within an administrative structure. The means for change existed, but movement through the committee structure could take years, as the Piggott/Hastie example and revision of MC shows. The choice was straightforward - work within the system or leave. A capable professional, Miss Corbett quickly found another mission in which her talents could be put to use.

A final source of conflict again centred around definitions of authority and lines of authority. Once again the results had far-reaching consequences for the LA. Letitia Bernard was a medical student hired by the WA in the 1885.[107] Her case illustrates the

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[104]MS.Dep.289.35 CofSWAFM MB ff. 78 24 June 1902 (appointed); MS.Dep.298.36 CofS WAFM MB ff.7, June 1905 (returned her outfit allowance).
[105] MS.Dep.289.36 CofSWAFM MB ff.30, November 1905.
[106]MS.Dep.298.37 CofS WAFM MB, 20 October 1908.
[107]MS.Dep.298.32 WAFEI MB, 17 February 1885.

highly privileged position occupied by the type of woman who would have had access to medical training at the time, and her rare worth as a female doctor interested in mission work. Her status in relation to the WA was evident from the tone she employed in her correspondence with the committee. She was approached by the WA while still in medical school, and quite archly replied (through her sister) that she would not commit to any mission while still in training.[108] After she was eventually hired, she continued to exert considerable influence with the WA. In 1889 her sister was hired to be her medical assistant, although she was unqualified for the post, illustrative of the great variety in what constituted "medical work" at the time. At the same time the Committee began to look for a qualified nurse to work at the hospital, and they eventually hired Miss MacArthur.[109]

Once in the field Dr. Bernard was unable to establish a working relationship with her nursing staff, several of whom brought their grievances before the WA.[110] Dr. Bernard received a resounding endorsement from the committee. She was given absolute authority over the hospital and its staff, and the WA rebuked Miss MacArthur, the nurse who filed the complaint in the first place, and ended their report with the admonition that

> Miss MacArthur will in future, with loyalty and pleasantly, work under Dr. L Bernard, doing her utmost to promote the harmonious working of the whole mission and that she will send an assurance to this effect.[111]

The WA discussed this situation with great confidence, but made the same mistakes they made earlier in the Hastie/Pigott case. They appear to have been so pleased to have hired a qualified "Lady" Doctor and so eager to keep her, that they forgot all about right order. Instead of formally associating the work of the hospital with a local Mission Council, their recommendation was that "when the only resident missionary is not experienced in India Life, she must obtain the counsel of the more experienced missionaries in regard to non-medical matters".[112] They made a continual sharp distinction between Dr. Bernard's

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[108]MS.Dep.298.32 WAFEI MB, Mrs. Ferguson to Dr. Lowe, 15 April 1884.
[109]MS.Dep.298.33 WAFEI MB, 12 February 1889.
[110]CofSWAFM MB, 31 January 1893.
[111]Ibid.
[112]Ibid.

status as a lady and a doctor, and Miss MacArthur, who had joined the mission with respectable nursing qualifications. Miss MacArthur resigned from the Hospital and her family complained to both the WA and the FMC.[113] As a result of the ensuing investigation of committee procedures, the WA once again received a real slap on the wrists from the GA. The "Report on the Resignations at Poona" pointed out how the WA had failed to act decisively and allowed personality conflicts, and what had begun as a professional matter of relatively little importance, to intensify. An increase in the number of female agents leaving the mission under negative circumstances occurred with a resulting loss of confidence in the work of the WA and its Medical sub-committee. This was put down to "a certain amount of carelessness or want of system in official correspondence".[114] Dealing with more concrete issues, the authors pointed out simple solutions which had been ignored, such as attending to the inadequacies of accommodation - it is not true that "the mission buildings are made of India rubber so they stretch out to hold just as many as are wanted",[115] and that clarifying the relations between agents could have prevented the original problem. Once again, it was the application of rules which resulted in personal, and then larger institutional problems, but these do not appear to be the result of systemic gender conflicts. Unfortunately the resulting report did make the women look distinctly incapable of supervising the female side of mission business. On this occasion they allowed class biases to blind their consideration of a professional matter, and ignored both the fact that there existed proper administrative procedures which they were required to follow, and that the FMC was actually directly responsible for the work of the WA.

4.3.5 The Reform of Mission Councils

In 1883 John Maclagan, then Convenor of the FMC commented in a letter to Wm. Macfarlane in Darjeeling that

> it seems to be the feeling that the Ladies Agents should be members of the DC - and have a voice in all questions - I propose therefore to omit the rule about associating them with the Committee, and add an

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[113]MS.Dep.298.33 CofSWAFEI MB ff.591a, visit of Mr. MacArthur of Inverness to discuss his daughter's case, 20 June 1893.
[114]MS.Dep.298.33 CofS WAFEI MB ff.91, "Report on the Resignations at Poona".
[115]MS.7628 CofSWAFM LB of the Secretary (Darjeeling) ff. 61, to Miss M. Scott, 4 February 1897.

> interpretative clause that missionary means ordained and lay means appointed by us, and superintendents and agents appointed by the LA.[116]

In 1890 the MC had expanded to include lay workers, all European missionaries appointed directly by the FMC, the SUM and the YMG, but it still included no women, although the WA continued to make inquiries about their addition throughout the next decade.[117] In 1903 a Guild Council was formed in EHM as a sub-committee of the MC, but it was not until 1904 that the EHM enthusiastically accepted the recommendation that agents of all the various committees meet together on a Joint MC.[118]

Mission Councils played an important role in the field since it was through them that all correspondence home was supposed to be channelled, and they dealt with all financial matters and business pertaining to the mission as a whole. Since a large proportion of mission work had to do with financial matters, excluding women from MC meant their input was limited to unofficial channels. In the EHM in particular, the appointment of mission workers through so many different auxiliary organisations - the FMC, WA, WG, YMG and SUM - resulted in a particularly complicated administrative structure in the field. While Maclagan and Macfarlane seemed keen to block the women's involvement in the early 1880s, by the 1890s the situation had changed, and it was the missionaries themselves who pushed for an official joining-together of their field administration. However, the democratic nature of the process of reforming church administration resulted in a long, drawn out affair, in which each MC was asked to identify what form of organisation seemed best suited to them. No one method of administration was identified as best for all, with the result that women did not gain blanket admission on MC until 1921.

After Union, and as happened to ladies in the LMS, all the ladies' committees in Edinburgh were joined with the men's work under the new FMC. This is described as resulting in a "loss in power and direct control replaced by tokenism",[119] a

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[116]MS.7555 CofSFMC Private LB ff.124, J. Maclagan to Wm. Macfarlane, 5 July 1883.
[117]MS.Dep.298.19 FMC Report, 18 November 1890 p.498; MS.7551 CofSFMC LB of the Convenor ff.50, J. Maclagan to A. Turnbull, 22 September 1890.
[118]MS.298.13 FMC MB ff.26-35, "Regulations Concerning Guild Councils", 10 March 1903.
[119]Macdonald, "Women and Presbyterianism", p.222.

pronouncement which negates the many and varied ways in which women continued to affect the course of missions throughout the twentieth century.

4.4 Conclusion

Missions of the Scottish Presbyterian churches between 1880 and 1910 are unique in this study, since they represent a mission activity originally generated by independent Evangelical Societies, and one which eventually came under the firm control of a strict denominational framework. Because of their denominational organisation, it is possible to focus more sharply on 'Presbyterian' elements which came to inform the development of these missions, and in particular helped define women's roles in those missions, both at home and abroad. It was also important that this was a national church, reflecting the beliefs and needs of a certain group of people who, at least to some degree, defined themselves as in opposition to English churches. How could their religiosity be translated across the world - to a group of people with a different cultural background - can "Scottish" be translated to "South Asian" or does it need to? This question can be as readily asked of the LMS or the CIM. However, it seems particularly important to ask it of the Presbyterian missions in this study given the claim of a recent scholar that:

> between 1830 and 1930, and despite schism, reunification and the social reform movement of 1880-1920, Scottish Presbyterianism functioned as the established religion - the sacred ideology of the dominant social order. It was not a sect or a community on the margins of Scottish life, but a belief system (embodied in several distinct institutions) which either had a privileged situation and relationship with the political state, as the legally established church; or made claim to such a relationship; or maintained a voluntary position, but was closely related to the Scottish political world. The self-conscious perception of the institutional church (in its different and changing guises) was a central player in the national ethos and destiny.[120]

British Protestant missions demonstrated a clear and sustained interest in Scottish candidates. The number of Scots holding posts in the civil and military establishment of

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[120]Macdonald, "Women and Presbyterianism", p.491. For further discussion of the social and economic importance of forming a 'Scottish' emigrant identity see: McCrone, Making of Scotland, pp.125-35; Harper, Emigration, p.6.

the British Empire suggests that a Scottish education and those other qualities such as good health, a practical nature and moral rigor which embodied 'Scottishness' were attractive characteristics. It is important to come to terms with these notions of culture and nationhood since they impacted on missions in two ways. Of the missions in this study it was the Scots whose mission workers and work were best received by the local population with the result that it had the most long-lasting influence. The reality of this is 'scaled up' by the widely held impression that Scottish candidates made good workers, and that the work of the Presbyterian missions was, if conservative in nature and narrowly focused, solidly conceived and well-supported by the home structure of the Scottish churches. Perhaps for the very reason that 'Scottishness' was defined against what was not Scottish. What was a relatively small mission endeavour resulted in great 'stories' which impressed the wider mission constituency and beyond. Annie Small, the influential first Principal of the Women's Training Institute in Edinburgh wrote that Presbyterians were probably too proud of their church and work, but they may have had reason to be so. For all the controversy over the Scottish commitment to education, which meant large capital investment and a long-term commitment, over bazaar preaching and itinerant evangelistic work, the CIM and LMS consistently looked North for well-trained candidates, whose religious enthusiasm was mitigated by a Presbyterian emphasis on the supremacy of the Word of God.[121] Further to this, LMS missionaries in India admired the Presbyterian administrative structure which could afford to pay its missionaries more than other missions, and the women in North India in particular expressed their appreciation of the manner in which Scottish workers managed to support each other and by extension, their work, by means of what they perceived to be a meaningful devotional life. However, while the Presbyterian administration provided stability, it could at times be unwieldy. The type of individual who effected change had more often than not left the mission by the time a contentious matter had been dealt with through all the committee levels.

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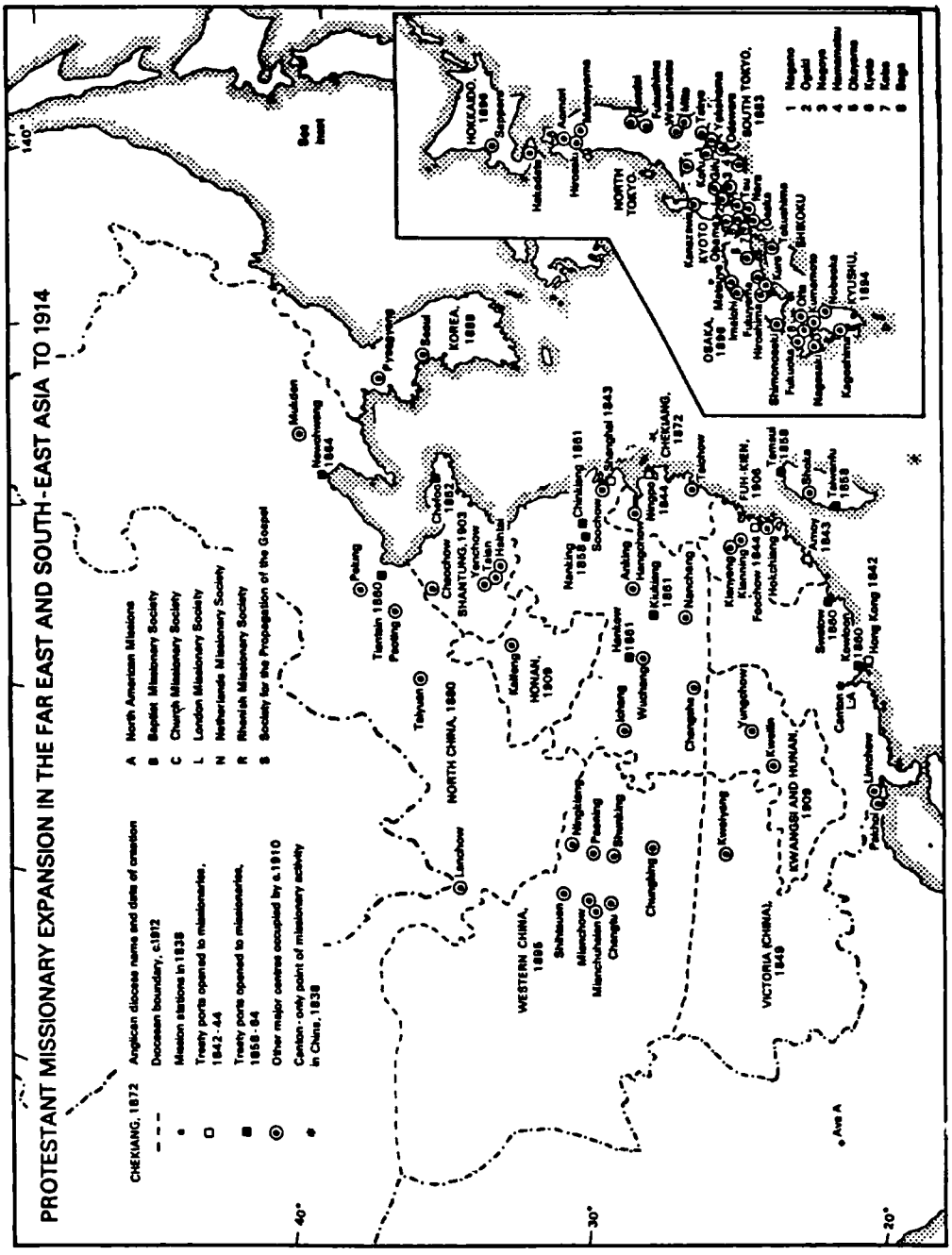
[121]Goodall, History, p.4.



Map 1: Protestant Missionary Expansion in the Far East and South-East Asia to 1914

Chapter Five

"The Conversion and Highest Welfare of Each Pupil": The Work of the CIM at Chefoo

"I hold it to be sheer infidelity to doubt that God gives to every one of his children, without exception, those circumstances which are to Him the highest educational advantages."[1]

5.1 Introduction

The China Inland Mission stands as one of the great successes of nineteenth-century mission expansion. Begun and sustained through the vision of one powerfully charismatic man, its vision and methods inspired additional faith missions in various parts of the world, and its base of support quickly spread from England to the Continent, Australia and North America. With Taylor-Broomhall descendants still at its helm today, the CIM survived great personnel and property losses in the Boxer Uprising in 1900 and left China later in the twentieth century, to become the largest mission organisation working in Asia. No study of nineteenth-century missions can be complete without at least a mention of this faith mission with a stated commitment to employing lay-workers as evangelists, and having them identify as closely as possible with their Chinese constituents by assuming a local lifestyle and living without the trappings of the West. In particular, no study of nineteenth-century women's mission work should be considered as complete without an in-depth look at the aims and work of the China Inland Mission, since from the beginning Hudson Taylor expressed a belief in the utility not only of male lay workers, but women as well.

This chapter aims to explore the CIM's unique professional identity, one which developed in some ways opposite to both the LMS and the Scottish Presbyterian missions, and according to the interplay of class difference, gender, race and theological belief within the mission. While the numbers of women applying to the mission increased dramatically after the 1870s, it seems clear that the story of women in the CIM is one in which representation does not match with reality. The impression has been left that women were

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[1]Benjamin Broomhall quoted in Williams, "Recruitment and Training", p.114.

hired and employed by the CIM in a manner equal to that of men. A more careful reading of CIM material suggests that this is not quite correct. Taylor's original pioneers were men; both single and married women joined his first group effort in 1866, but after this initial attempt the number of women sent to China for the following two decades was no higher than other mainline missions. Contemporary reports in the mission's periodical, *China's Millions*, described women as engaged in work very similar to that of the women working for the LMS and Scots Presbyterians at this time. It was in the 1880s that the number of single female missionaries hired by the CIM skyrocketed. This corresponded to a similar increase in the numbers of male workers. From that time on, as the mission matured, a dichotomy increased between male and female workers, and also between better-off, well-educated mission members, and the regular lesser-educated lay evangelists who have become the stuff of CIM legend. By the 1880s the mission had evolved to a point where the heads of districts formed a core administrative group. These individuals then set about formalising the organisation of the CIM. Their vision included collapsing some of the cultural and educational differences between the CIM and other Protestant missions in China in an effort to increase the mission's status, and yet retain a distance in terms of their character of faith.

The CIM school for the children of its missionaries in Chefoo was the site where the CIM professional social ideal was most clearly realised. While the Chefoo school might at first appear to represent completely different work than was performed in the rest of the mission, it was considered by the mission to be very much a part of its work. Therefore a demarcation should not be made between Chefoo and the rest of the mission. Its very existence exemplifies key issues in CIM history. The choice to locate a school for the children of missionaries to China in the mission field signified a commitment to the country, and to keeping families together. However, within a decade of its opening, attendance at Chefoo was closed to non-white children. Administrative rulings and the reality of travel in China ordained that families were effectively separated for years at a time, a fact which allowed the mission to create a school environment which would result in a future generation of workers created in the CIM shape. A gradual gentrification and professionalization of the school curriculum occurred between 1880 and 1910. The school curriculum and extra-curricular pursuits developed in ways which reflected the backgrounds of the specific interests of a select group of individuals. The "holiness

milieu" of the wider mission was infused into a racially exclusive, middle class educational environment which effectively concentrated the cultural expectations of British educational institutions, with the effect that the mission workers or supporters produced by Chefoo by the 1890s were committed to the evangelical purpose of the mission, but were raised to be more properly middle class and British than the previous generation of workers had been.

CIM work at Chefoo indicates a dichotomy of purpose in another sense. While the mission started out with a mandate to employ men and women on an equal basis, the mission never completely returned to its initial plan after its obvious initial withdrawal from this position. Female candidates continued to swamp the overseas offices, Hudson Taylor and the China Council begged for more male applicants because men could more easily accomplish the majority of the work which was needed in China - itinerating. However they also needed to administer the increasing bureaucracy of a growing mission, and avoid either real problems, and even the appearance of impropriety, when staffing stations. CIM administrators also believed that the majority of women workers experienced more trouble than their male counterparts in surviving what was an unhealthy and difficult environment - a fact acknowledged much earlier by other missions.[2] The strategy created by the mission to deal with the gender problem (too few men, inadequate women) involved creating a system of family alliances throughout the mission. To some extent this mirrors what happened on a less intensive scale in other Protestant mission missions, whose administrators complained periodically about the loss of workers due to marriage.[3] The CIM differed from its counterparts in that consent to marry was more strictly controlled, and in the requirement that both partners of a mission couple continue to work after their marriage. The demands of raising children fell primarily to mothers, with the result that mission mothers could devote less time to work outside their families,

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[2]At the beginning of the century the LMS Directors made clear their reservations about the dangers an almost inevitably pregnant new wife would face travelling to a new mission field. See: Bawden, Shamans and Lamas, p.66.

[3]All three missions put in place regulations to recoup the cost of training female missionaries who married quickly. In 1885 the CofSWAFM were so strapped for workers that they made exceptional arrangement with Miss Amy's fiancé which allowed her to continue working after their marriage. See: MS.Dep.298.33 CofSWAFM LB of the Secretary Miss E. Williamson to Miss Amy, 1 October 1885; Also see: FCofS (1894) Rules for Missionaries (Edinburgh) p.7; and note the tone of resignation in: "the marriage of a European worker puts the missions at a disadvantage, in: UFCofS (1909) Tenth Report of the WFMA (Edinburgh), p.6.

and were more tied to station life. On one level the provision of childcare at Chefoo freed mothers to return to more direct mission work. However, this impression must be tempered by a careful examination of the details of gender relations in the CIM. On mission stations, single women married in as great numbers, and as quickly as did women in other missions. Women generally progressed through the ranks of seniority less quickly than did their male counterparts, and at Chefoo in particular, staff seniority reflected the gender hierarchy of male professionalism, alongside curriculum and leisure activities demarcated along gender lines. Further, the CIM's philosophy of employing women to work alongside men, coupled with their focus on direct evangelism over "good works", had the effect of diminishing the value of labour related to the domestic skills being developed by women in other missions. Thus while Chefoo in part "freed" women for work, it also constrained their activities to avenues in which they were considered inferior to their male counterparts.

5.2 General Background of the CIM

The China Inland Mission was begun in 1865 by Hudson Taylor as a response to what he saw as a failure of the older China missions to put sufficient resources into reaching the interior of the country. The CIM was the original faith mission, founded on the basic Christian belief that all who do not believe in Christ are eternally lost. Specifically, this mission impulse acted out the imperative that Christians must work at least to present the Gospel to every individual in the world, and to facilitate the second coming of Christ. Raised a Methodist, as a young man Taylor joined the Brethren movement which did not practice ordination. This background, alongside influences from the holiness movement, led him to form a mission, the aim of which was to quickly employ as many workers as quickly as possible in order to meet this imperative of speedy evangelism. Those recruited were lay workers from all Protestant denominations. They were not expected to need what was a time-consuming classical church education to spread a straightforward message; they were guaranteed no salary, and the job could be accomplished equally well by women as men.[4]

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[4]Fiedler, Faith Missions, p.34.

The CIM represents a beginning in many ways. Its choice of personnel was one. Another is that beginning in 1886 the mission was administered in China rather than by a home committee in England. As well, the missionaries themselves constituting the membership of the mission, as opposed to missions like the LMS for whom membership was based on contribution. Hudson Taylor's vision also included a belief, put quickly into practice, that requests for funds should never be made directly to supporters, but only through prayer. The CIM was also the first mission to regulate the use of a form of Chinese clothing by its workers. However, in photographs, many CIM members appear uncomfortable in their borrowed look. These underline a description of CIM workers from the 1930s as remaining, despite their "Chinese garb, quintessentially English".[5] This was an ideal the Chefoo schools were structured to ensure in subsequent generations of CIM workers.

5.2.1 Choice of Personnel

Hudson Taylor's first recruits were selected on the basis of their spiritual strength as opposed to educational objectives beyond basic literacy and numeracy skills. However, their assessment and training gradually became more institutionalised, and after the 1880s the process remained essentially the same until after the First World War. [6] From the late 1880s this first group of recruits was joined by volunteers with more education, and who had been inspired by Keswick and the Student Volunteer Movement. These individuals were from working and middle class families, and the women had either been schooled at home or in private schools, while increasing numbers of male applicants had attended university.[7] However, the selection process continued to rely on the assessment of intangible qualities and basic Bible knowledge at the expense of a structured advanced education and formal denominational qualifications. The mission was also concerned that

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[5]Fairbank, John King (1982) Chinabound: A Fifty Year Memoir (New York), p.112.
[6]Ibid., pp.65-75
[7]Williams points out several facts about trying to quantify information about CIM candidates. There is little material about them, what information there is must be put together from disparate sources. Unlike other missions, wives were counted in the figures as workers. Further, candidates from Britain were mixed in with those from North America and elsewhere: Williams, "Recruitment and Training", p.354. It is singularly difficult (and perhaps not useful) to classify these individuals as middle class based on occupation since the middle or middling classes encompassed a wide variety of workers at this time. It is perhaps more useful to rely on definitions of respectability and attempting to assess levels of freedom/security. See: Huggins, Mike J. (2000) "More Sinful Pleasures? Leisure, Respectability and the Male Middle Classes in Victorian England" *JSH* 33(3), 585-601; and Leneman, Leah (2000) "'No Unsuitable Match': Defining Rank in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Scotland" *JSH* 33(3), 665-683.

candidates understood and agreed to live by its Rules.[8] Candidates recruited in Great Britain were invited to stay at CIM headquarters, to assess their personal and spiritual qualities, devotion to evangelicalism, and to encourage them to become "more familiar" with their Bible.[9] Up to about 1900 their length of stay was determined by how quickly workers were needed as opposed to meeting the set demands of a course. Thus in 1875-77 and 1887 when Hudson Taylor was 'called' to send first seventy and then one hundred workers, the minutes of the London Council lists name after name of men and women offering their services, being invited for tea, and then being prayed over as they embarked almost immediately for China. Although the speed at which candidates appear to have been hired is the result, at least in part, of the paucity of detail about their candidacy experience, the sheer number of individuals hired and sent during these decades suggests the perfunctory nature of their training prior to departure. The short-term result of such a policy was as Taylor desired. Large numbers of individuals were quickly sent to China to be apprenticed under more experienced workers. However, this quick influx of workers also resulted in administrative problems for the mission due to the unsuitability of candidates, and the unevenness of the training and support offered to new workers. After 1900 this period of apprenticeship was replaced by more systematic training. New workers spent two years studying and working at CIM Institutions before they were granted the status of Junior Missionary, at which point they would join more senior workers inland. Both male and female workers were obliged to work for the mission for two years before becoming eligible for marriage, even if one of the partners was already a member of the mission. This coincided with the length of time spent in training, and

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[8]The mission's rules were outlined in its *Book of Arrangements* and its *Principles and Practices*. These underwent amendment between 1885 and 1891, a process which was the cause of great stress between Hudson Taylor and the LC during that time. The substance of the changes was the reorganisation of the mission administration to include North American and Australian Councils, and to shift the major decision-making to China. Taylor refused to attend a final meeting before his return to China in 1887, and in his absence there was heated discussion about the changes to the *Principles & Practices*. "HT would not concede that he had changed anything that they had not given prior acceptance to in principle", *CIM/LCM* 5, 23 March 1887. Benjamin Broomhall (General Secretary between 1878 and 1895) threatened to resign over the issue in 1888, as did several missionaries. On their part, the LC felt that the changes to the Rules were substantive enough to necessitate a copy being sent to all missionaries for their approval, while HT said the LC, who were involved in the mission on the strength of his invitation alone (CIM/CP 73, 13 November 1886) and thus had no right to a say in mission reform: CIM/LCM 6 2 October 1888 and CIM/LCM 6 20 October 1891. A 'final' version of the *Principles & Practices* was agreed in the 1890s [one source says 1891 but the CC copy dated 1896 had revisions written on it] was once more revised in 1902 after Stanley Smith left the mission after (another) lengthy controversy, this time having to do with theological differences. See: CIM/LCM 10, 2 and 7 October 1902.

[9]CIM/LCM 12, 7 December 1909.

enabled the mission to avoid the problems of housing and supervising unmarried couples, and the danger of gossip.[10]

As the mission became established in China, candidates who never would have been accepted earlier began to appear on the CIM Register. Individuals who would not have been eligible due to their age, health or inability to learn a foreign language, were accepted if they could pay their own way, and if there was immediate need of workers (such as after the Boxer Rebellion), or when the need arose for specific professional expertise.[11] The suitability of workers highlights what became a matter of specific concern for the CIM in the last two decades of the nineteenth century as the London Council, Hudson Taylor, and the China Council struggled to codify the mission's practices and beliefs in order first to define what constituted appropriate mission workers, and then find such individuals. This was a matter of some debate in the CIM, given the varied background of its workers and due to the fact that its religious orthodoxy was based on the beliefs of one man. Qualities which were considered desirable included a passion for the evangelical purpose, but interestingly, this had to be constrained in an acceptable manner - acceptable to British society, and to the CIM administrators. It was at the Chefoo schools where this juxtaposition of enthusiasm and restraint was most clearly in evidence.

The need to restrain workers was a common refrain for both the London and China Councils. Hudson Taylor surrounded himself with individuals who believed in his vision and methods, and who were willing to submit to his ideas. They in turn became the Superintendents of the Provinces, who comprised the China Council. When pushed, the Council acted to discipline problematic workers, these usually involved an inability to get along, and more obvious misdemeanours involving financial dishonesty, sexual

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[10]HT and the LC had a "long conversation" about the relations between men and women on stations, and medical missionaries and the other workers. See CIM/LCM 5, 21 October 1884. See also: Price, Eva Jane (1989) China Journal, 1889-1900: an American Missionary Family During the Boxer Rebellion (New York) p.108.

[11]The LC hired Mr H.M. Morris, a chartered accountant, to work in their Shanghai offices. He and his wife initially resisted the appointment on the grounds that they wanted to work as evangelists. See: CIM/LCM 12, 9 November 1909. Later in the century trained teachers were hired specifically to work at Chefoo. Although in each case these members of the mission were expected to be aware of, and agree to the mission's *Principles & Practices*, these members were not expected to dress in the CIM Chinese uniform, nor did they need to learn Chinese.

impropriety and physical violence. However, the Council sought to create an atmosphere of consensus where the structure of the mission and the personal example of fellow workers would inspire CIM members to conform to a system of living and working based on the 'holiness ideal'. This led to a dilemma. The very type of dynamic and independent individual who might be expected to rise to the challenge proffered by the CIM, might not be expected to submit to its direction. Women presented the same problem as men. This was seen, for instance, when Misses Dietre and MacDonald, two independently funded ladies from America, were turned down because it was felt they were so spirited and had so much experience independently that they might not be able to "submit to discipline".[12] Of course independent-minded individuals were hired by the mission. Both London and China were faced with restraining the enthusiasm of new members, particularly when many became involved in the Pentecostal movement while teaching at Chefoo or studying at the Language Training Institutes set up for men in Anquing and women in Yanzhou after 1886.[13]

A further problem faced by administrators of the mission was inappropriate emotionality. Perhaps related to this, in an organisation which almost demanded that faith be a highly charged, emotive experience, both candidates and then some members of the mission appear to be more likely to have mental abnormalities than those associated with either the Scots Presbyterian Missions or the LMS. If a 'breakdown', and the term is in itself indefinite, is considered to be result of isolation, loss of control, or economic and social dependence, it seems clear that CIM workers would be more susceptible to problems.[14] As compared to workers in the Presbyterian missions and the LMS, they were identified against and not necessarily with members of the western expatriate community, their wages and living situation were not secure, and they were likely to have become estranged from their families as a result of their career path.

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[12]CIM/LCM 9, 15 May 1900; that a culture of dissent existed in the CIM is suggested in Benson, Linda (2000) "French, Cable and French: Women Evangelists of the CIM", Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the AAS, pp. 5-6. Expressing dissent within an organisational structure is one form of resistance outlined in Kumar, Nita (1994) "Introduction" in Women as Subjects: South Asian Histories (Charlottesville) pp.1-20

[13]Austin, "Pilgrims and Strangers", p.156.

[14]Showalter, Elaine (1987) The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture 1830-1980 (London) pp.136 and 202-3. For comments on CIM workers' and their living conditions see: CWM NCC 7 3/D W. Rees to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 1 May 1890.

It almost goes without saying that every station, in one province of a vast and varied country, peopled with individuals with strengths and weaknesses, was unique. However, this is a particularly important point to make about the CIM for two reasons. First, the evangelical character of the mission meant a focus on mission work rather than the creation of indigenous churches - which was meant to be the domain of newly converted Chinese Christians. This reality coincided with the interdenominational nature of the mission which could have resulted in tension between workers who were drawn from various Christian traditions. Recognising this, Taylor organised the rapidly expanding mission by creating stations along national and denominational lines.[15] This meant that being sent to one station rather than another meant more than just fitting in with one's co-workers as it might in another mission. In the CIM mission the work under Bishop Cassels in Sichuan was distinctly Anglican while in areas like Shanxi, the Scandinavian and Norwegian Faith Missions, which were associate members of the CIM, brought a unique faith practice to their stations. By the mid-1880s the CIM was becoming institutionalised on the coast, and inland distances meant the organisation remained diffuse in practice, so that with judicious placement, individuals representing diverse theological and social backgrounds could be found in the expanding mission.[16] Still, no matter how diverse their backgrounds, mission members were required to conform to the rules of the mission or face its discipline. The schools at Chefoo provide the most explicit example of how the CIM created an environment in which members felt constrained by their belief in its faith principles, in order to minimise the necessity of discipline.

5.3 The CIM Station at Chefoo

All mission workers appear to have needed a sanatorium, a place of respite where they could heal both physically and spiritually, and one not so far-away as home. For the CIM, the community which grew up on the Yantai peninsula allowed its workers to commune

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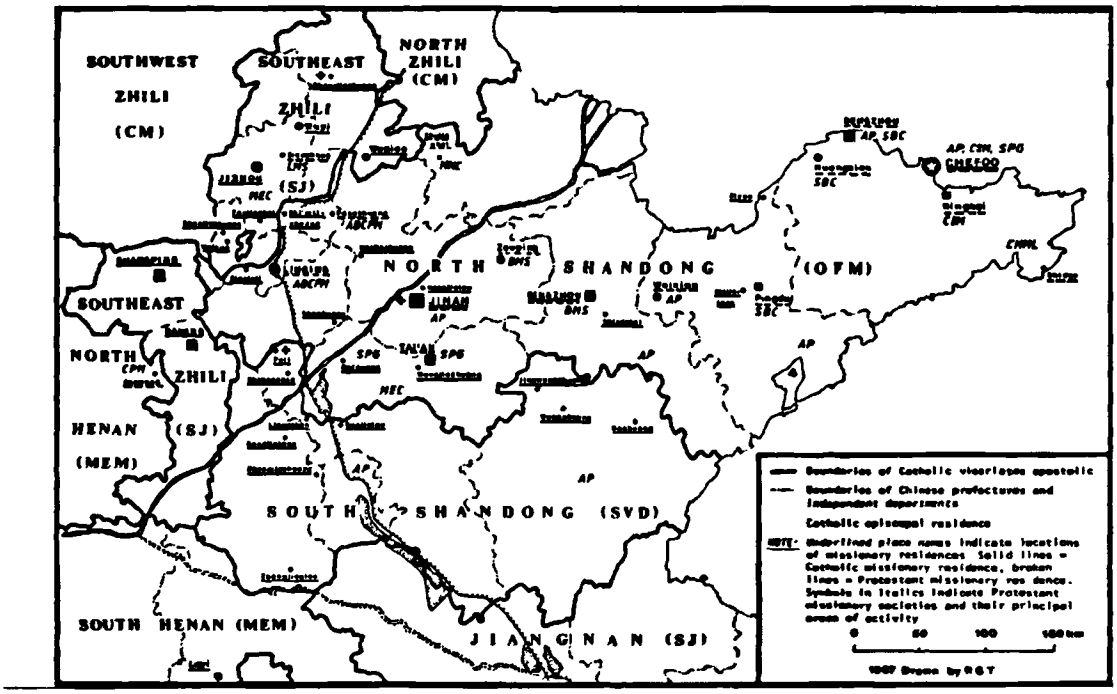
[15]Broomhall, A.J. (1988) Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century (London), p.169.

[16]In fact in 1909 D.E. Hoste, one of the 'Cambridge Seven' who joined the mission in 1888 and by this time was the mission's General Director, actually agreed to Dr Herbert Watley's (a candidate's father) conditions for his daughter to join the mission: she had to be under the supervision of Bishop Cassels, and be granted one years furlough after five years service (two years earlier than was the norm). See: CIM/LCM 12, 14 September 1909.

with like-minded colleagues while resident in the hospital or recuperative home. However, in a move which clearly differentiated the CIM from other missions, a school for the children of missionaries was also set up in what was seen as a safe location, since from a very early stage Hudson Taylor had made a commitment that CIM children would be educated in China. At a time when most British personnel overseas, including missionaries, sent their children home to England to be educated in order to pursue a



Map 6: Mission Stations in Shandong Province, 1890

'proper' English education with all that entailed, the CIM not only educated the children of its members in China, but established an institution which attracted other members of the expatriate community as well. The study of family life elsewhere in the Empire has underlined just how special was this enterprise.[17] The number of workers teaching at the school compared to those working in other areas of CIM was never large (never more than seven percent in this period) yet Chefoo played a central role in the development of a mission identity specific to the CIM.[18]

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[17]Buettner, "Families and Memories".

[18]For a compilation of staff and student numbers see Table 1: The CIM Presence: the Chefoo School in the Wider Mission, in the Appendices.

The story of Chefoo fits into a wider CIM tradition of employing the past as evidence of the mission having correctly interpreted God's 'will'. This served not only to convince mission supporters of their own 'right action', it also underlined the failure of other mission endeavours. In 1879 Hudson Taylor travelled to Chefoo and quickly recovered from a bout of cholera. He invited several other ill members of the mission to join him there. Charles Judd and his family, Joe Coulthard and E. Tomalin were invited to Chefoo. The Judd family was expected to return to England if Mr. Judd's health did not improve. Each of the missionaries improved immediately, and the 1879 edition of *China's Millions* reported that more accommodation was needed on the Yantai Peninsula for invalid members of the mission, though Hudson Taylor had assured his readers in 1875 that the mission's methods of itinerating in rough circumstances led to no more sickness than that experienced by the workers of other missions in China.[19] The 1879 article marked the beginning of CIM work in Chefoo. In 1881, Taylor confirmed that a school for the children of missionaries was to be established, as well as a hospital for the local population.[20]

This medical work at Chefoo became a central feature of the limited mission work the CIM directed to the densely packed local population of the Shandong Province.[21] The CIM set up schools for Chinese children, and established three stations and five outstations in the Province of Shandong by 1899, but in contrast to the norm in other Provinces in China, in Shandong the mission focused its energies on its own mission community.[22] Other missions had begun work with the local population in the Shandong Province in the seventeenth century. In the nineteenth century Italian and French Catholic missionaries were joined by an explosion of arrivals of Protestant missions from Germany, Sweden, Britain, Canada and the United States.[23] The other missions had many more personnel working in the region, and had established elaborate church networks,

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[19]CIM 120 (1876) *CM* (London) pp.121-156.
[20]CIM 124 (1880) *CM* (London) p. 90.
[21]Stauffer, Milton T. (ed.) (1922) The Christian Occupation of China: A General Survey of the Numerical Strength and Geographical Distribution of the Christian Forces in China (Shanghai), p.196.
[22]In 1920, CIM workers were 53 of the 504 Protestant missionaries working in the Province. Of these 2 were ordained, and there was one was one doctor and two nurses working at the hospital. Of the 40 CIM women in the province 25 were single. Ibid., p. 201. Also see: CWM NCC 7 3/D W. Rees to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 1 May 1890 and 7 4 A and B.G. Smith to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 1 July and 8 September 1890.
[23]Tiedemann, Rolf Gerhard (1991) "Rural Unrest in North China 1868-1900: With Particular Reference to South Shandong" (University of London PhD thesis, London) pp.121, 123-27.

medical work, orphanages, and some industrial training and schools. The backdrop against which Chefoo operated was one of continual rural unrest, and anti-Christian violence arising from the exemption of local Christians from community obligations and the interference of missionaries in local concerns.[24] The other Protestant missionaries took advantage of the CIM facilities at Chefoo and the names of the children of these missions fill the Chefoo Registers. These included, for example, the sons of the American Presbyterian missionaries, the Leyenbergers, who are recorded as having joined the school in late 1881, a year after it opened.[25] At least one female missionary left the American Presbyterian Mission, in 1883, to work in the domestic department at Chefoo.[26]

Anyone who reads the records of any of the missions for this period will readily understand why the CIM Sanatorium at Chefoo was an important and well used part of the mission community. In 1895 the Sanatorium is pointedly described in China Council Minutes, "as usual, full". The Chefoo Schools benefited from their proximity to the CIM rest-home since families could visit their children. In the first two decades, the partners of convalescing members of the mission often helped administer and teach at Chefoo. School records also highlight the prayer meetings that visiting missionaries held at the schools. These provided a means for various mission members to exchange ideas, and were aimed at inspiring a religious awakening in students.

However, frequent visitors and staff-change resulted in the same discontinuity in practice as was complained of by the LMS missionaries in Almora.[27] This problem was solved in the 1890s as the Schools began to hire professionally-trained staff, although complaints of interference from mission members visiting the Sanatorium continued throughout the period under study.[28] Carefully worded minutes of the China Council in 1895 recorded discussions concerning how members "residing [at Chefoo] for the benefit of the fresh air, sea bathing and other advantages [could be encouraged] to leave...It was decided that

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[24]Ibid., pp.120 and 320.
[25]CIM CSP/1 1 Chefoo School Register 1880-1950 pp.1-32.
[26]Broomhall, A.J. (1988) Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century Book 6: Assault on the Nine (Sevenoaks, p. 208.
[27]See above p.95.
[28]The decision to hire professional teachers was contentious one, and discussion on this subject continued to occupy the CC in 1903. See: CIM/CP 74, 3 February 1903.

since members' leave need pass their provincial Superintendent, he could make a judicious and friendly representation," and if this was not successful the Director would have become involved.[29] The CC discussed the issue again in the 1890s, and in 1901 finally agreed to "regulate the intercourse between parents making lengthy stay and pupils boarding at the school" after three days of discussing problems at the school.[30] Other Minutes note the discussion about members who refused treatment at the hospital because of their belief in faith healing. The Council decided that its rules meant that the conscientious convictions of their members should be respected and thus, they could not force anyone to accept medical help.[31] This was only one of the many instances where the mission was forced to deal with the consequences of accepting a variety of members into an organisation whose original strengths had been simplicity in administration and doctrine.

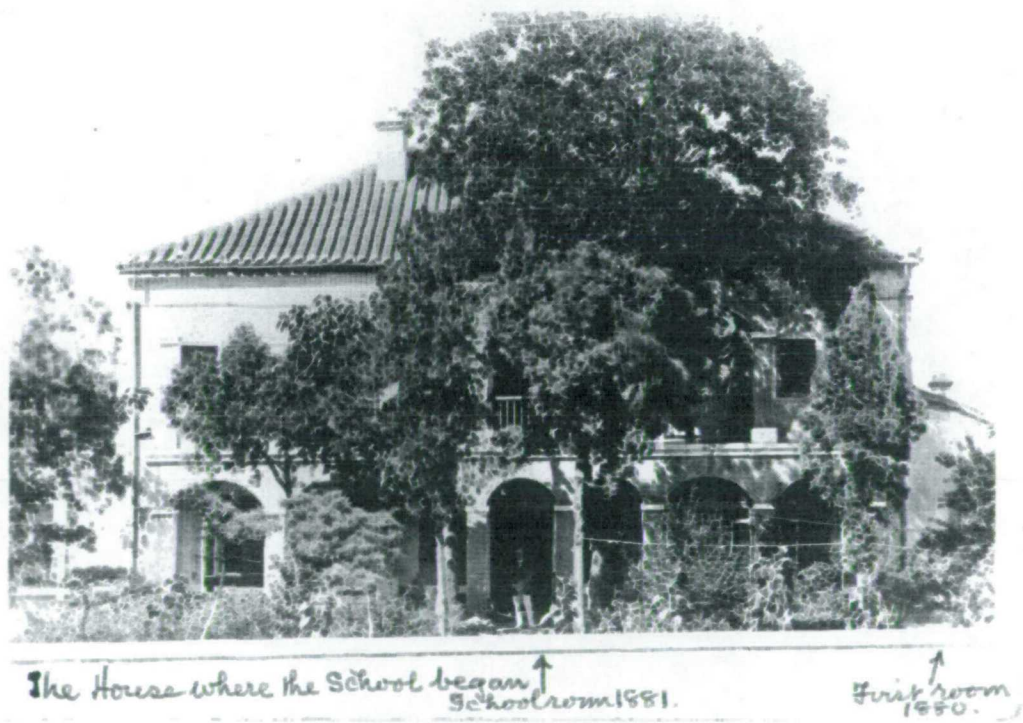

Figure 5: The Original School at Chefoo, 1881

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[29]CIM CP 73, 24 June 1886.
[30]CIM/CP 74, 28 January 1901.
[31]CIM/CP 73, 24 November 1886.

5.3.1 History of the School

At the end of 1880 Mr. W. Elliston, a CIM missionary working in Shanxi, left his post and began teaching three brothers in the January of the following year. The following year they were joined by children of American Presbyterian Missionaries working in the region, as well as those of businessmen in Shanghai and elsewhere.[32] By 1892 100 boys were living and studying at Chefoo Protestant Collegiate School, a name which aimed to differentiate it from the available education offered by Jesuits to the children of European expatriates living in China at the time. In 1895 the school expanded to accommodate girls in a separate facility and introduced a Preparatory department. That year the CC noted its concern regarding the number of children its prolific members were producing, and proposed that:

> as there is every probability that not less than fifty children will be added to the Mission during the current year, and that the number to be provided for will increase with the increase of the Mission, it will be seen that the problem before us requires our prayerful consideration. If the suggestion made at our last session be adopted that Probationers wait for three years rather than two before marriage the number of children needing to be arranged for would be smaller.[33]

In 1905 the school had 226 boys and 193 girls from CIM parents alone.[34]

China's Millions contains two reports on the Chefoo School in 1881, each of which introduces the school to different audiences. The differences between the two offer insights into the school and its place in mission history. One was written specifically for mission supporters, and the other was the re-print of an article written for the *North-China Herald Gazette* reporting on the prize-day celebrating the first formal year of the school. They underlined that the school enabled the children of missionaries and European businessmen and government workers to stay in China for longer than was previously possible, without being forced to attend a Catholic Institution. Several issues directed to

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[32]The original land purchase cost £18, and the building £562: Broomhall, Assault, p.206.
[33]CIM/CP 73, 3 January 1895.
[34]CIM/CSP 3 Annals of CIM Schools Vol. I, 1931.

the parents of potential students and to mission supporters in this article were repeated over the years. Specifically, the article described how hard the staff worked to look after the needs of the students, and it was their responsibility to give that 'something extra' to pupils that was emphasised. As a mission-supported endeavour, staff were expected not only to agree with mission principles, but to bring their charges up in the type of holy environment conducive to religious conversion. The brand-new buildings and wonderful location "only a short distance from the sea-shore with nothing but cultivated and terraced fields intervening" were also pointed out. As well, "there are no Chinese houses within a mile or so".[35]

The proximity of European children to Chinese influence was a concern for both audiences and the articles point out that a separate school for Eurasian boys was planned. However, this was articulated to potential parents; the reality was that rigorous segregation of the sexes, and strict segregation on racial grounds did not occur at Chefoo until 1891.[36] Mission administrators had wrestled with the 'problem' of inter-racial partnerships as much as a decade before, however the mission continued to deal with such incidents on a case by case basis until it was forced to develop a firm policy. The origin of the Chefoo school for girls illustrates that for the CIM, the commencement of new work offered similar problems as it did to other missions. A school for Eurasian girls was opened in Chefoo in 1882, financed by the Ladies' Benevolent Society of Shanghai, and presided over by a Mrs. Sharland, a woman who went to China on her own in 1880 who, after two years joined the CIM, having "seen for herself our work, knew personally more of our number, and was acquainted practically with the working out of our principles".[37] CIM members looked after the 35 boarders in the late 1880s and early 1890s until the school was closed in 1891 after Mrs. Sharland's replacement, Miss David, married Mr. McMullen, another CIM missionary, and joined him at his station. In this first decade of educating mission children, the mission was not prepared to rigorously enforce the segregation of white children from those of other nationalities. Some girls at this school for "Eurasian" children had brothers attending Mr. Elliston's school for mission boys, and

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[35]CIM 126 *CM* 1882 p.74.
[36]Photos of female staff and students support the written evidence that at least in the beginning the schools were not rigorous in their exclusion of children of blended ancestry. As was the case in other missions there were times when an issue could be dealt with most conveniently by simply not discussing it.
[37]CIM 125 *CM* 1881 p.74.

all the girls joined the boys for some of their classes. This was an instance where the practical reality of the situation does not quite match the rhetoric of mission literature. Little more is available about this early period of the school's history, so it is difficult to assess how children were treated. However, in a small expatriate community the parents with mixed-race progeny must have been aware that the stated purpose was to exclude their children, yet parents must have felt it to be in their children's best interest to be associated as closely as possible with the category of being "white".[38] The CIM records are quite silent about the education of the Parker children. George Parker was one of the first CIM missionaries in China, and despite the objections of the mission, married a local girl who was boarding with the Judd family in 1881.[39] None of their four children's names ever appeared on the Chefoo school register although they do appear in *China's Millions*.[40]

The religious atmosphere of the Chefoo schools was always a prominent feature in any discussion about the school, yet it was highlighted to varying degrees. While the *Herald Gazette* article mentioned the conversion of students, it emphasised the learning environment. The *China's Millions'* article placed its emphasis on the importance of the school in relation to the mission. It inflated the number of mission children studying from the five entered in the Register (three CIM and two American Presbyterian) to ten, and reported the conversion of several of these in the past year. It also emphasised that the school was never meant to be supported from the General Funds of the Mission, but that school fees, lower for the children of CIM missionaries, and special individual donations, would support its work. Again the provision of a healthy physical environment was stressed, but it is the importance of religious instruction that was underlined, and in this case specifically, that with children of businessmen attending the school alongside those of missionaries, a better understanding of mission work in the wider expatriate community should result.

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[38]Buettner, "Families and Memories", p. 158; Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers" in Tensions of Empire, 198-238.

[39]Their engagement was the subject of great debate in London. See: CIM/LCM 4, 15 October 1878, 26 November 1878 and 10 February 1879. Broomhall, Assault, pp.247-251 and 499. Parker continued to travel his own road in the mission, writing vehement letters to the Councils over revisions to the *Principles & Practices* and over the mission's handling of the Boxer crisis: CIM/CP 74.

[40]CIM 137 *CM* 1893 p.8.

The issues introduced in these articles retain their importance throughout the school's history. 'Marketing' the school to various audiences was never straightforward, since mission members and supporters represented a variety of socio-economic circumstances. Taylor had also taken a strong stand against the efficacy and relative importance of education and medical work compared with evangelisation.[41] The work at Chefoo, mission work focused on Europeans and members of their own mission, had to be clearly differentiated from these arguments.

Setting up a school for mission children solved several difficulties for the mission, and was economical in terms of finances and personnel. A number of families needed nurses or teachers for their children, although at this time some of these remained in England and not all in China went to Chefoo. In theory, grouping them together meant this expense could be shared. Further, CIM families had begun applying to the China Council for permission for nurses or teachers to travel with them to China with their children. This posed a potential problem to the mission if the individual was not a member of the mission, or again, if the individual joined the mission to look after the children of only one family. George Parker's marriage may have served as yet more proof that it was safest to separate mission children, and adherents of the mission in order to avoid inter-racial partnerships.

The changing style of the Chefoo school buildings reflected what was occurring inside the mission as well as in the school itself. During this period the mission was codifying its practices through revisions to its *Principles and Practices* which shifted its administrative centre to China, and made explicit lines of authority in the mission. It also made firm rules which governed members' progression through seniority, determined the length of service which was required before furlough could be taken, and confirmed that the mission owned all station property. The initial school building was described as having been thrown together, constructed with salvaged timber from a shipwreck, and bought with mission funds at a time when the distinction between the General Funds and funds

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[41]CWML.026 (1877) "The Missionary Conference 12 May - 23 May 1877" (Shanghai). Conference delegates debated the efficacy of itinerating, providing medical services and schools.

for special purposes was far from clear. This was replaced in the mid-nineties by a large institutional-style building, when the number of students increased sufficiently to require additional facilities and several new teachers for the Boys' School. The school's more institutional look reflects its increasing professionalization - which included hiring qualified and experienced teachers, instead of mission workers from a variety of backgrounds who only taught for a short period and then moved on to work in other parts of the mission.

The curriculum of the school also changed; from 1896 the students wrote College of Preceptor's Exams, attaining good results, and *China's Millions* reported former pupils getting good commercial jobs, or successfully achieving qualifications at English and American Colleges, suggesting that the school was providing a valuable service. "In the teaching department a useful rather than ornamental education has been aimed at - preparing the boys for a business rather than a professional life".[42] However this was less straightforward than it may seem. What was meant by "business and professional" needs to be explored more fully. During the period 1880-1914 the school emulated the type of boarding schools in Britain which would have been out of the reach of the majority of CIM supporters. This is so not only in terms of physical structure, but also in the organisation and control of scholars' days, and in the way that staff and scholars were organised into a house system in order to create a social structure, increase school spirit, and organise the increasingly important athletics. Even the language used to describe the teaching, of girls in particular, was aimed at an audience familiar with boarding school practices: parents were assured that girls were not "crammed" but were taught to think instead - although all this was modified by underlining the ethos of religion. The changes at the school reflect changes occurring in the mission. While it always made much of the strength of its working class support, it was the middle class members who came to dominate the various Councils of the mission. The next generation of missionaries were brought up to emulate a more genteel form of Christian witness, sitting University entrance examinations, wearing Eton collars, and one Chefoo Alumnus even remembered reunions in Shanghai early this century as elegant black-tie affairs.[43]

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[42]CIM 139 *CM* 1895 p.31.
[43]Martin, Gordon (1990) Chefoo School 1881-1951: A History and Memoir (Braunton) p.50.

This institutional expansion was estimated to cost £5000 (to educate 100 boys). This included the purchase of additional land, dormitories, a school and playing fields. For the girls, a new building and music and voice teachers were expected to add a more modest £300 to costs. Although the mission adhered to its policy to not request funds for adding onto the schools, beginning in 1892 *China's Millions* articles began to underline the need for the school expansion and its expected cost. In 1893 its proposed plans were printed. It was at this time that the magazine began presenting its supporters with lists of the children of CIM workers alongside prayer requests for them. Their sheer numbers underlined the need for the Chefoo Schools, but naming them and providing their birthdates and the location of their families personified each, identified each as a member of the mission, and underlined that these children represented a mission field in themselves. Never missing a chance for the Lord, when construction was begun, the 250-400 (even reported as high as 600) workers on the school site were evangelised, and received half-pay on Sundays to rest, as long as they stayed on site. In photos of the building process they remain the anonymous exotic backdrop to the European supervisors and school staff.[44] Four of these were baptised - not particularly impressive results.

The new building was paid for by Archibald Orr-Ewing, who had joined the mission in 1884, inspired by a Moody Revival Meeting in Glasgow and Keswick Meetings. Five years after arriving in China, he assumed Superintendence of Jiangxi and remained with the mission for twenty years. His involvement in this episode of building and his mission career in general highlights that not all mission members and supporters were equal. In a significant departure from its original habits, the mission spent three years 'mentioning' that money was required for the school. These indirect requests did not result in the £2500 required to begin building, suggesting that mission supporters either didn't have the kind of money to support this type of high-capital-requiring work, or did not believe it meshed with their vision of the mission. A healthy inheritance allowed Orr-Ewing to put his beliefs regarding the importance of education into action, and he financed the expansion of both the Boys' and Girls' School, and playing fields for the boys. Orr-Ewing very quickly attained prominence in the mission; certainly his circumstances would fit

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[44]CIM 140 *CM* 1896 pp.152 and 163.

what Broomhall described as the class conflicts which erupted when older missionaries who came out "when standards were lower" were bypassed in favour of "inexperienced upper class men and college educated experts".[45] China Council Minutes make it clear that mission premises paid for out of individual funds were to be the property of the mission. Other missionaries left the mission over disagreements over this rule,[46] yet the Council deferred to Orr-Ewing's wishes with regard to changes both at Chefoo and Kuling School, another school for the children of missionaries run in Kiangsu during the 1890s and into the early twentieth century. When the mission wanted to sell the Kuling school in 1907, they waited Orr-Ewing's return from furlough to do so, and leased the premises when he agreed to the sale only on the condition that any money raised be spent in Kiangsu alone. The premises were leased to another school, one which was attended by some CIM children until 1915 when it burned down and the mission decided to send all CIM children to Chefoo, changing the entrance age from five to six in order to fit all the children in one institution.[47]

5.3.2 School Staff

The mission was keen to emphasise that the staff at Chefoo played a vital role in their organisation. While the number of workers teaching and administering the schools was small, never more than seven percent of those working throughout the mission, the staff at Chefoo played a vital role for the mission, both in terms of 'freeing' other workers for different work, and by overseeing the environment the mission had created at Chefoo in order to keep its staff and children safe from gossip, from China, and from British secular society. Between 1880 and 1910 members of the mission who taught at Chefoo reflected general trends in the recruiting of personnel into the CIM. This was true in the beginning because staff members were drawn from the general pool of volunteers. In a sense Chefoo became one of the CIM staging grounds on the coast, where new members worked while on probation before joining a station in an inland location. By the mid-1890s, professionally trained teachers were hired to supplement the work of the untrained staff. The unifying theme however, was adherence to the *Principles and Practices* which

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[45]Broomhall, A.J. (1988), Hudson Taylor and China's Open Century Book 4 Survivor's Pact (London) p.122.
[46]CIM/CP 73, 2 June 1890.
[47]CIM/CP 73, 5 January 1894, 74, 31 April 1907 and 17 May 1908; and then 75, 29 March 1915.

governed all members of the mission. These could not be followed to the letter by workers at Chefoo however, since the rules demanded members of the mission wear Chinese clothes and attain fluency in language, and Chefoo teachers worked in English.[48] School staff followed the same progression as other missionaries, from Probationer to Junior and then Senior Missionary. Other than having served for a specific length of time,[49] the criteria on which they were granted seniority were not clear. It was only in 1917 that the China Council approved a form to be filled out by teachers applying to move from Junior to Senior status.[50]

Given the expectation that all missionaries with the CIM worked inland itinerating over vast distances, a contemporary criticism of workers at the Chefoo schools was that they were not engaged in the same sort of difficult mission endeavour. The mission worked hard to dispel this point, and it seems clear from this study that both male and female mission workers at Chefoo and elsewhere in the mission should not be too clearly differentiated from each other. Early CIM work included setting up schools for Chinese children, and for female workers, visiting women in their homes meant spending time in one area for a length of time rather than moving from place to place quickly. Not all workers were itinerating at all times, and, at first teachers moved fairly quickly from Chefoo to work as missionaries in other areas of China. For women this movement most often was predicated by marriage to a missionary working elsewhere. However, a few single women stand out who went on to work outside the schools: Misses Ellis and Knight left the school in 1890 but remained with the mission.[51] Later, the mission itself developed the notion that its workers in Chefoo were no less 'real' missionaries as were those in other provinces of China.

Several features of the staffing of the school stand out. To begin with, staff were mission workers seconded to teach for a short time only. This is true of the first teacher, later

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[48]Even the CIM attitude to wearing Chinese clothes was subject to interpretation. In 1895 the CC agreed dress could be "adapted" to the local environment: CIM/CP 73, 15 March 1895. By 1904 they discussed the fact that on many stations members wore western clothes: CIM/CP 74, 3 February 1903 and 15 September 1904. Later the clothes became fully optional, first for full members, CIM/CP 74, 15 April 1907, and then probationers CIM/CP 75, 5 October 1911.
[49]Austin, "Pilgrims and Strangers", p.155.
[50]CIM/CP 75, 12 March 1917.
[51]CIM/LCM 6, 21 January 1890; CIM 136 *CM* 1 January 1892.

headmaster of the boys' school, and of his first few co-workers in the Boys' and Girls' school, and the Preparatory School. These teachers were supported by other mission personnel who helped in the domestic arrangements of the school, and in sheer numbers these latter actually dominated at the schools. Because most of the tasks such as looking after the children's clothes, supervising domestic servants and the day to day running of a boarding institution were performed by women, the number of female workers at the school was always higher than the number of male teachers and heads, to whom the female workers were subordinate. As in other areas of the mission, the men tended to hold posts of higher prestige for longer periods, and were supported in their work by their wives and other mission staff. It is among these support staff that one finds those individuals who for various reasons never worked outside the schools. By the turn of the century the CIM had become such a large institution that women over thirty, who it was

Figure 6: Hudson Taylor and Some of the Women of the Mission, c.1895

felt could never learn a foreign language, could be found a place to work in the mission.[52]

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[52]Austin, "Pilgrims and Strangers", p.231.

The history of the school, like that of the mission, is most often presented in the manner of 'great men', listing the various headmasters of the schools, particularly the Boys' School, and associating changes which took place at the schools with the tenure of each. This manner of describing the work is useful, since relatively few headmasters served the school as its work grew and solidified. The headmasters who served at the Boys' School and whose importance has been underlined were as follows: the first, Mr. W. Elliston, was a missionary in Shanxi from 1878 until he began teaching the Judd boys in Chefoo in 1881.[53] In what is a familiar story, he married one of the female teachers in 1884 after her minimum two years probation, and they were posted to Shanxi in 1886, "where married and experienced missionaries should be"[54] and where he died in 1887. After teaching at the school from 1885, Mr. Herbert Norris, the next head, worked for only a short time before being attacked by a dog in the school and contracting rabies.[55] Frank McCarthy was by far the longest serving and most influential staff member at Chefoo in the period under study. The son of one of the first CIM missionaries, he began teaching at Chefoo in 1887 and served as Head between 1895 and 1930, marrying Jennie Webb, who at the time of their marriage had been working in Kiang-su for eight years, in 1893. [56]

A problem with this type of analysis is that the staff under the headmaster disappear, and the relationships between the staff and head, the mission and mission parents and the school get lost as well. The London and China Council Minutes hint at problems in the school, but unfortunately these are never spelled out. It does appear that the tension existing between the Head of the Boys' School and his staff around the turn of the century concerned the question of the relationship between the school as a mission tool, and it being a professionally run educational institute. One of the few altercations for which there is some evidence took place in 1901 between Frank McCarthy and Mr Owan, one of the male teachers, who bought tools to teach Industrial Education at the school, but stipulated that they had to be under his control rather than that of the Principal.[57] McCarthy had agreed to another teacher's furlough in 1900, as long as the terms of his

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[53]Broomhall, Assault on the Nine, p.491.
[54]CIM/CP 73, 24 November 1886.
[55]Martin, Chefoo, p. 47.
[56]CIM/CP 73, 3 February 1895.
[57]CIM/LCM 10, 9 December 1902.

employment changed on his return.[58] It is after this that D.E. Hoste, began an investigation into the school. His recommendations were that the standards of education be raised, that it be determined whether or not outsiders should be allowed to attend the school, and that relations between the Head and his staff be improved.[59] The Minutes of the China Council disclose on-going problems. Three years later one of the female teachers resigned over doctrinal differences with the mission, an occurrence which alumni remember happening after the turn of the century as well.[60] Doctrinal peculiarity was viewed by CIM Administrators as a particular problem at Chefoo in the 1930s, when staff and students became involved in the Shandong Revival, which resulted in the emergence of strong local church leadership, but also led to what were perceived to be excesses of religious enthusiasm including "speaking in tongues".[61] One male teacher left explicitly because he felt that his views regarding the conduct of schools were given no regard at Chefoo. However, such openness was rare.[62] In 1905 the wardrobe keeper resigned because of ongoing differences with colleagues, and could not be placed elsewhere in the mission because of her deafness; a Miss Reid went on furlough and was quietly asked not to return because she did not fit in at the school and her temperament made her unsuitable for work in the mission in China[63] - quite a damning reference. One gentleman who served as Head of the Prep School in the 1890s left to be ordained as an Anglican priest; and on a lighter note, a Miss Legerton was reported as leaving the school in 1892 to marry Mr. Whitehouse, and as unable to work due to nervous prostration. The report on her case pointedly observed that her condition was not due to overwork since she had never taught longer than twenty-five hours per week since arriving at the school.[64] Yet another woman resigned, this time in 1912, because she was fit neither to teach nor as in the previous case, for direct missionary work - which put the mission in a difficult situation since both her parents were CIM missionaries.

These struggles to develop an ethos for the school and identify it to potential staff,

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[58]CIM/CP 74, 23 November 1900.
[59]CIM/CP 74, 26 March - 28 May 1901.
[60]Houghton, Stanley; Harman, Edith B; Pyle, Margaret (1931), Chefoo, (London), p.15.
[61]Cliff, Norman (1994), "Protestant Movement in Shandong Province, China, 1859-1951" (University of Buckingham DPhil thesis, Buckingham) p.329.
[62]CIM/CP 74, 23 November 1900 and 7 July 1903.
[63]CIM/CP 74, 14 August 1900.
[64]The minutes quite pointedly do not include the author of the report on her. See: CIM/CP 73, 3 April 1892.

alongside continuing questions regarding the necessity of the mission being involved in such work, led to a situation in which the mission was constantly looking for school staff throughout the 1890s and thereafter. Between mid-1902 and early 1903 the China Council remained divided over whether or not candidates should be accepted solely for teaching posts. They finally, but tentatively, decided that as long as the individuals knew and accepted the *Principles and Practices* and "the special circumstances of the schools at Chefoo should be in a very full and marked way explained"[65] then it was all right. As with many of the issues facing the mission, CIM Council Minutes recorded these events in a terse and detached manner. From the number of times the Chefoo staffing issues arise, and the time spent on solving them (Hoste travelled back and forth to the school on several occasions), it is clear that the mission was facing serious problems at the school, problems which are not even glossed over in the magazine or in histories of the school. Hoste even wrote to Hudson Taylor in Chefoo that perhaps children should be sent back to England for their education, but Taylor refused.[66] These staffing issues and the ways in which they were addressed stand out in contrast to conditions in the LMS and Scottish Presbyterian missions in North India in several respects. In the same period the latter two missions had deeply layered administrative procedures through which decisions were made, and in which any problems were recorded in ample detail. While these procedures were not always adhered to, and the time it took to resort to proper procedure was invariably unwieldy, in the end both organisations possessed the mechanisms which could be enacted if need be. The CIM, on the other hand, continued to develop its codes of practice until the end of the century, and the China Council had a relatively short history on which to base decisions in individual cases. Further, the way in which the Council dealt with members indicated how loath it was to mete out discipline - which underlined how important it was to attract members of one mind in order to avoid having to do so. Like other missions, the CIM hired the children of missionaries to secure workers who conformed to their expectations. In a self-perpetuating manner some of these children taught those who would then work in the mission - familiar CIM names turn up again and again as teachers, and include the Taylors, women of the Fishe and Baller families, and the Judds.

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[65]CIM/CP 74, 3 June 1902 and 3 February 1903.
[66]CIM/CP 74, 3 February 1903.

5.3.3 Chefoo and the Mission

The work with the children of missionaries at Chefoo was central to the work of the China Inland Mission for a number of reasons. The work developed at the schools illustrates several ambiguities in this mission struggling to find a place for itself both within Western society and on the mission interface. The work for which the mission is known and celebrates itself is the single itinerant evangelising performed by both male and female members of the mission, wearing non-western clothes and living a non-western lifestyle. However, the reality of station life was that the majority of female workers were married. The mission was forced to carefully regulate the work and living arrangements of its single women workers in order to protect them from the physical rigors of mission life, and from expatriate gossip regarding their moral well being. Further, no matter how closely the CIM sought to identify itself with Chinese culture, the professional social ideal created by the middle-class members of the mission who dominated its administrative structure by the 1880s stressed the maintenance of racial and cultural barriers. Thus the 'CIM identity' came to be based on dichotomies of expectation having to do with gender, class and race. In educating the future generation of CIM members and supporters, Chefoo represented a site where disparate strands of belief were woven into practice. The schools were one facet of the mission's commitment to China, yet excluded non-whites. They emulated English middle-class boarding schools of the time in terms of their buildings, administration, teaching methods, and their gendered expectations of boys' and girls' schooling. This stands in juxtaposition beside the mission's continued commitment to gender-neutral employment and its attractiveness to working-class supporters.

The decision to educate CIM offspring as part of mission operations had its roots in more widespread arguments about protecting children from the 'polluting' environment of the mission field. However, these general concerns were replaced by the more specific goal of creating the type of environment conducive to the 'second filling' experience considered necessary for an individual to be considered the type of 're-born, holiness inspired' Christian needed for the work of the CIM. The direction taken by the China Council with regard to the education of mission children was not universally welcomed by members of the mission.

Further, Chefoo allowed the majority of female mission workers, those who were married and had children, to remain on or return to active missionary status. This it did by placing them in what was considered by the mission to be a safe, Christian environment in China, so that families could get together more often. Doing so saved the mission the cost of transporting a growing number of children around the world. Safety included a very specific reading of Christianity - inspired by holiness teaching and the revival movements of the nineteenth century, and refined by the mission's own beliefs in the necessity of a second religious experience in even a professing Christian where the individual was filled with the Holy Spirit. In this sense Chefoo not only kept children safe from the dangers of being too close to 'heathens' in China; it also protected them from the more subtle danger of non-believers, and the incorrect beliefs and practices of the other denominational missions. Finally, for a mission with a tight fiscal base, the savings inherent in educating children in China were important to mission strategy. However, quite quickly issues of the control and protection of members and their offspring came to dominate issues surrounding the school.

While the schools were presented as being just one more facet of the CIM's commitment to China, discussion about the importance of educating mission children separately from the mission environment mirror those which took place in other missions, and to an extent in wider Imperial culture. In fact the first article in *China's Millions* addressing the topic merely reproduces a talk given to the Baptist Missionary Society's Women's Association in Boston in 1880. The children of missionaries were described as gifts; gifts their parents were obliged to care for in the best possible manner. This included protecting them from the foreign environment in which they were forced to live

> laden with moral and spiritual death, where the daily sights and sounds are unholy and vicious....The dear Master has shown his marked approval of the sacrifice missionary parents have made, in the rich blessing that have been granted....hundreds of the children of missionaries have become earnest, faithful servants of the Master, holding high positions of influence. Scores of these have already returned to heathen lands, carrying on the work their parents began....[67]

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[67]CIM 125 *CM*, 1881 p.50.

That this rhetoric might represent less than a complete commitment to life in China, seems not to have posed a problem for the CIM, despite the fact that it espoused such values. With regard to expatriates living in India, British parents' paramount interest was in safeguarding their children's futures by ensuring they were not identified as having been raised without the benefits conferred by a British education.[68] This type of argument was often framed in terms of fears of death from tropical disease and the supposedly unnaturally rapid development of children in hot climates. In particular missionaries in the South Pacific in the first half of the nineteenth century were quite explicit about their fears concerning the environment in which their children were being exposed.[69] By the turn of the century these arguments were supplanted by concern about the need to keep separate geography and race. Another example of this occurred in India. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, institutions which had developed in North India provided a perfectly good education - yet their value to colonial parents for whom "whiteness was a critical category" was diminished by their admittance of mixed-race students.[70] In the 1870s and 1880s the missionaries with the London Missionary Society sent their children home to be educated at Walthamstow School for the Children of Missionaries in the 1870s and 1880s, and did not see their children for years at a time.[71] Their fears about the health and professional future of their offspring were also heightened by the specific religious concerns. However, in the LMS case, 'educational value' only came out later in discussions regarding whether or not to hire the daughters of missionaries who had been educated in India. When mission daughters educated 'in country' were hired, they were paid on the same scale as the locally hired mixed-race biblewomen. Thus the 'site' of education could demote them to the status of 'female worker', or promote them to the level of a 'lady missionary'. It was in this wider reality that the Chefoo Schools developed.

This pulling apart of families represented something different for mission families than

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[68]Buettner, "Families and Memories".
[69]Gunson, Neil (1987) Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797-1860 (Melbourne); Grimshaw, Paths of Duty; Price, China Journal, p.70.
[70]Buettner, "Families and Memories", pp.12 and 147.
[71]In the 1880s and 90s Walthamstow was cheaper for missionaries to send their children to than Chefoo, at between £12 and £18 pa due to a wide base of private support, but the passage money home for each child and an accompanying adult would have added to the total.

for other members of Empire. More than simply keeping their children British, and providing them with a British education, mission parents acted as they did in answer to the Will of God. The dangers the children had to be removed from remained that,

> the early years of these young children are often spent alongside their parents in some heathen city, where the outside surroundings are conducive neither to health of body nor purity of mind; and that the children of our missionaries, have, as a whole, grown up with healthy minds and healthy bodies, is a testimony to the power of prayer, and to the grace of God in guarding them from evil.[72]

However, the pull of the school became as powerful as the push out of this "polluting" environment.

> The health of the children is especially good. Malaria is unknown, the climate is bracing, the sea beautiful, and the beach perfect. Football, cricket, boating, bathing and everything else, is taken up heartily. All the boys and many of the girls become swimmers, as indeed they can scarcely fail to do so since the morning swim can be enjoyed for four months of the year, and altogether Chefoo produces the types of children of whom any parent might be proud.[73]

The style of work initiated by the CIM was a response to the institutionalism of older missions working in China. The work at Chefoo shows how the CIM infused its institutions at all levels with its 'faith principles'. The schools were dominated by the children of CIM missionaries, described as scholars selected from parents who were outstanding individuals, and were selected on the grounds of good health, mental vigour, spiritual commitment and enterprising character. They were therefore likely to be bright, healthy and of sound character.[74] The school day was filled with "the spiritual atmosphere which set it apart; breathing a 'live' atmosphere, barrage of prayers so boys either accept Christ or definitely reject".[75] A Timetable of prayers for staff and students, and the head and his wife or visiting missionaries witnessing to the students, before joint church services on Sundays",[76] sounds almost oppressive. On the other hand, one student

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[72]CIM 142 *CM*, 1898 p.10.
[73]CIM 140 *CM* 1896 pp.152-153.
[74]Martin, Chefoo, p.19.
[75]Ibid.
[76]Ibid.

described life at Chefoo as "an endless pyjama party".[77]

Several points regarding the Chefoo Schools are suggestive of the debates which took place within the CIM regarding the development of mission policy, or 'professional social ideal'. The first group of complaints might be dismissed as incidental, yet the common thread running through them is frustration with the constraint entailed by membership in the mission. Over a quarter of a century China Council Minutes record instances of families expressing unhappiness about their children attending Chefoo, although parents appear generally to have been pleased to send their children to the schools. The reality of travel in China meant that not all parents could visit their children readily, nor did mission regulations allow them to. Further, what began as a positive alternative to sending children back to England gradually became one of the mission's "iron-clad rules".[78] At times the mission seems hard-hearted in its adherence to rules for members and fiscal responsibility, something quite different from "the Lord will provide" economic freedom practised by Hudson Taylor in the early years of the mission. In 1895 the CC determined that children of missionaries should remain at school in Chefoo while their parents returned home to England on furlough.[79] This underlined the idea that furloughs were not simply a break. It saved the mission passage money for the children, and enforced the notion that private family life came second to the work of the Lord, as ordained by the CIM. Stress occurred when mission workers struggled under a system they felt did not meet their needs. One particularly horrifying incident occurred in 1919. A recently widowed father applied for furlough to take his three children home to be cared for by relatives. The youngest was only a few weeks old. Since he had been home on furlough less than four years previously, the mission's decision was to send the two youngest home with another woman missionary on her way home on furlough, and keep the oldest in China "by some means until it [my emphasis] can enter the Prep school".[80] The majority of separations were less dramatic, and were generally recorded in terms of short-term anxiety for long-term gain. The difference between the CIM and other missions was the

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[77]CIM/CSP 3 pp. 58-66, 68-71.
[78]Austin, "Pilgrims and Strangers". William Rees wrote that friends of his in the CIM "linger on in the work as they are afraid of Hudson Taylor's bulls .... many of them would leave tomorrow if they could do so honourably", CWM NCC 7 3/D W. Rees to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 1 May 1890.
[79]CIM/CP 73, 3 January 1895.
[80]CIM/CP 75, 19 March 1919.

degree of choice which its members could exercise. CIM members were economically constrained by their subsistence wages and may not have had access to family support. Members who left the mission could not necessarily seek employment in other missions, unlike the female medical women and teachers who left the Scottish mission in North India. Finally, members had joined the mission, and then been saturated with its enthusiasm for the CIM way as the right way. The style of supervision and language of administration made it difficult for conscientious members to put their personal needs before what was presented as the good of the whole organisation.

While immersing its children in a 'holiness milieu', the school also enabled the children of some members of the CIM to step decisively into a class above their roots in England or the other sending societies category (or prepared their children to do so). Chefoo held an interesting position for several reasons: the mission wished to remove its children from the dangers of life on a mission station and educate them in an English fashion; yet this was tempered by a need to economise, and the desire to protect them from the dangers of the outside world by keeping them within the CIM milieu. Chefoo offered parents a British education for their children in China, but protected the children from anything that might contaminate their schooling experience.

The tension which existed between the mission and the outside world can be detected in almost every piece of writing about the school. Although some CIM staff complained at the turn of the century that it was wrong for the schools to develop like other public schools in England (emphasising their own character and without need to imitate any other school)[81] other writing about the schools, and particularly the Boys' Schools indicated something else. While at first the schooling aimed at providing students with a basic education, the shift to a matriculation for entry into British Universities parallels another change in the CIM. The first CIM candidates were required to display "promise rather than educational background". Yet in 1907 it was seen as necessary for this next generation of CIM missionaries to sit the Oxford University Local Examinations.[82] Mission literature referred in great detail to how well Chefoo students did at their exams,

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[81]Martin, Chefoo, p.14.
[82]Martin, Chefoo, pp.26 and 30.

even during their internment during the Second World War. This served to build up the reputation of the school, not so much to attract students which never seemed to be a problem, but more to bolster the education gained by individual students. By the end of the nineteenth-century this mission was administratively if not numerically, dominated by members who had either eschewed a middle class background to live a life of faith, or who aspired to the lifestyle such a background allowed in China. In a bizarre turn-around for this mission, the reality that mission families could not provide financial security for their offspring, and the fact that the mission could never fit all successive generations into its ranks, meant the education offered at Chefoo had to offer secure occupational prospects, with the opportunity of returning to the mission's home as well as staying in Asia.

Public school customs were given a mission twist. As at Walthamstow in Kent, the Chefoo House saw the boys' houses named after Livingstone, Carey and Paton and the girls' houses Carmichael, Judson and Slessor. Alumni records tell how the less savoury side of boarding school life managed to survive in between the prayers and conversions. Former students recall incidents of fagging and wars taking place between different houses. Great emphasis was put on outdoor activities, team sports for the boys and expeditions, as well as swimming and obstacle races. In 1890 the girls' school was described in terms which would be familiar to a boarding school audience. Teaching quality was well equal to, and in many ways actually superseded a first-class English school. "Girls are not crammed, but are taught to think, and so to a large extent to learn independence and self-help. The teaching brought to bear on them is the practical, daily-life side of Christianity, not the more frequent sentimental side".[83] This is quite at odds with an earlier description about preparing girls for a supporting domestic role. This is a contradiction which shows the reality of girls' education in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Some women had always worked outside the home; opportunities to be trained for professional roles previously limited to men were opening up for women, particularly in the wider arena of Empire. However, the rhetoric of domesticity and the woman's place remained prominent for respectable middle class families.

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[83]CIM 134 *CM*, 1890 p.12.

Differentiating between what was considered good and necessary for boys and girls, meant strictly segregating them. Segregation was due, in part, to some incident cagily referred to in the China Council Minutes which convinced them of the necessity of segregating the sexes.[84] Developments in the educational and social aspects of the Chefoo schools mirrored developments in British schools, and reflect the background of CIM workers who were increasingly influenced by the Student Volunteer Movement, (which was not working class) and the church youth outreach work influenced by those groups. For the boys this resulted in a form of muscular Christianity, which stressed physical as well as mental development. Sports were used as a means of developing team spirit to supplement individuality.[85]

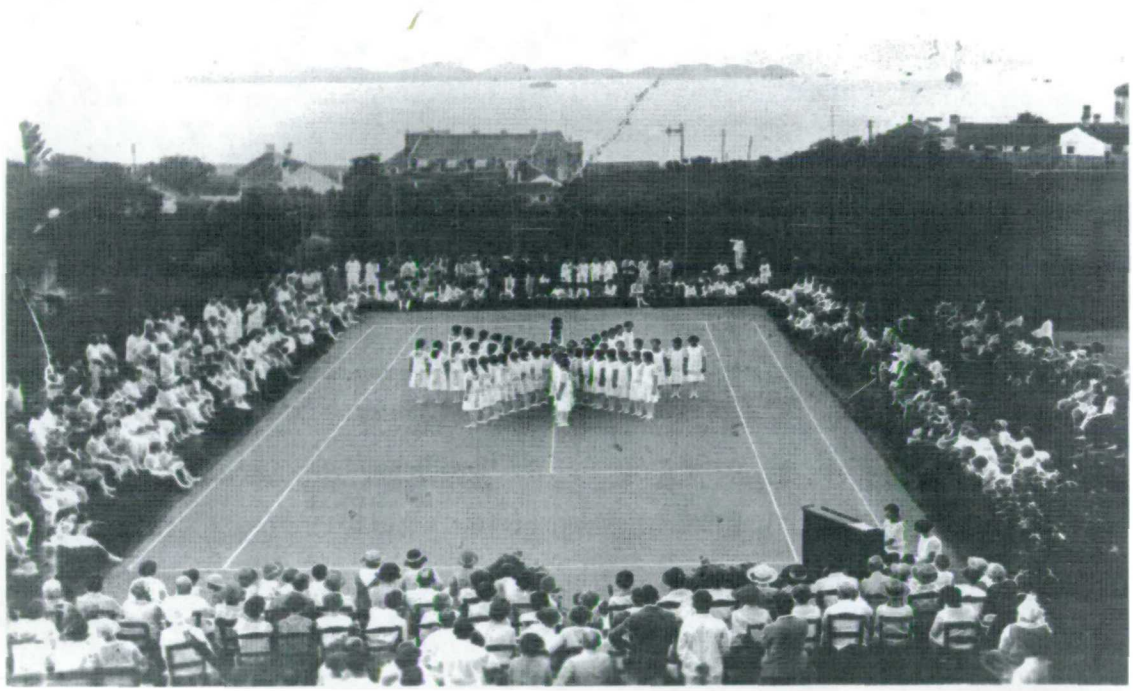

Figure 7: Girls Demonstrating Gymnastics During Founder's Week, c.1910

The girls were included in this sporting discussion, but for them physicality was not stressed to the same degree as it was for the boys. Instead of competitive team sports, girls participated in lifestyle sports - swimming and boating, walking and hiking.[86] In the

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[84]CIM/CP 74, 3 February 1903.
[85]Mangan, J.A. (1981) Athleticism and the Victorian and Edwardian Public School (Cambridge); Mangan and Walvin, Manliness.
[86]Orr-Ewing agreed to give money "with a view to improving the physique of the boys" [my underline]. See: CIM CCM 10 74 3 February 1903. For further discussion see: Vicinus, Independent Women, pp.181-85; Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood", pp.87-151.

twentieth century the Scouting/Guiding Movement was very popular at Chefoo. Aside from sports, the manner in which girls' education at Chefoo was described is surprising in a mission which purported to hire women of low social and educational status, to perform evangelical duties in unglamorous "living native" situations. The schools aimed to create:

> women of character and Christian spirit.... by all the aids that a good school education and careful domestic training can supply...to this end careful attention is given not only to the more solid subjects of study, but also the cultivation of womanly accomplishments, by means of which so much enjoyment and charm may be contributed to their home circle and surroundings.... music, singing, drawing, painting, cooking and needlework all receive a due share of time and attention.[87]

On one level one has to wonder how the education thus described prepared girls for a life as a CIM missionary, but on another it was exactly these sorts of skills that could enable an individual, man or woman, to excel when faced with unexpected circumstances. That these skills are particularly 'feminine' matched the attitude towards women workers which permeated the administration of the mission. On several occasions Taylor, and the China Council, asked for more male candidates to be sent to work. On one occasion, they cited specifically the "inability of many (especially the ladies) to keep up the study of the language, because of frequent headaches, etc., indicating, apparently, a lack of mental capacity or brain power".[88] The creation of categories of missionaries (Probationer, Junior then Senior) was linked to language attainment and length of service, and men progressed more quickly through them than did women. At other times the Superintendents who made up the China Council pointed out the inability of most women workers to live and travel on their own, although the Council's point had more to do with issues of control over its workers and the appearance of impropriety than with the actual ability of its female members. These gendered expectations of behaviour permeated both Chefoo and the wider mission. In each, women were expected to support rather than lead.

One final tension in CIM policy must be raised in a discussion of the Chefoo Schools. The homogeneity of colour at Chefoo is the most obvious characteristic of the Schools being geographically in China, yet being in reality as distant as was England. Although the

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[87]CIM 139 *CM*, 1895 p.34.
[88]CIM/CP 74, 13 October 1900.

mission set itself apart from the secular influences of its sending cultures, it aligned itself with them rather than with its Christian counterparts either of Chinese or mixed-race background. This was explained as protection for CIM children growing up in a no-man's land of mission interface. In reality Chefoo re-defined the boundaries of that interface in its own religious, yet racially exclusive manner. Children who attended Chefoo around the turn of the century recall being caned for speaking Chinese when they arrived at Chefoo from their parent's stations, and Chinese language training was not available at Chefoo until 1917, when the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce paid for a scholarship for boys studying the language.[89] It was not until the 1930s that all students studied Chinese language and culture.[90] These language rules were seen as necessary to ensure that CIM children could return to the homes of their parents speaking English faultlessly and with a proper accent. The inherent contradictions of running a school aimed at raising children within a specific mission system so as to keep them in the mission as future missionaries, yet denying them the opportunity to develop or even keep language skills that they, like so many missionaries would have to struggle to learn later in life, was seemingly lost on mission administration at this time. In what underlines the complex relations between members of the mission and their District Superintendents on the China Council, it appears that parents did not mind their children acquiring Chinese dialects from servants and friends on the mission stations as youngsters; however in the interest of their children's futures, they must have agreed to the process of erasing this knowledge from children once they assumed their corporate identity as children of the mission.

There is another aspect of CIM policy which, although not directly related to the Chefoo schools, follows on from this discussion of racial exclusivity. From the later 1880s neither children who were Chinese nor those of mixed-race background could attend Chefoo schools.[91] Arguments regarding this policy were complicated in 1909 when the North American Director asked the China Council to consider what they would do if a North

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[89]CIM/CP 75, 12 December 1917.
[90]Martin, Chefoo, p.79.
[91]An example of this may be seen in the CC's response to "a European gentleman whose wife was Eurasian, asking for the admission of his children to the school".... "It was not thought desirable to entertain the prospect", CIM/CP 74, 2 April 1903.

American of Chinese background should apply to join the mission.[92] The argument never progressed to the education of potential offspring, although the CIM pointed out "the serious difficulty which would arise in the minds of many of the friends and supporters of the mission in the Home Countries, in the event of inter-marriage between foreign and Chinese missionaries".[93] The Council had too many immediate concerns to need to extend their hypothesis to yet more children. However, it is interesting to speculate how they would have accommodated the offspring of such a missionary at Chefoo. There were at least two CIM families whose offspring do not show up on Chefoo student lists although their omission from mission records was never spelled out. The Parker children were absent from Chefoo, although in his history of the mission, Broomhall celebrates Minnie's mission endeavours. When the Norwegian Associate Anna Jacobson married a Chinese colleague in 1898, after the mission administration had attempted to separate the couple by re-posting her in another province, she simply disappeared from mission records.

5.4 Conclusion

While there was no hierarchy based on the observance of traditional church practices in place in the CIM, one based on different criteria was created. Grades of influence and power developed between individuals close to Hudson Taylor (those who supported his ideas and complied with them) over those who did not. It was exclusively men, and specifically men with relatively privileged backgrounds, who figured prominently in the administration of the mission. While the Directors may have seen an unending stream of candidates with various backgrounds, they could afford to choose the very best, and Hudson Taylor surrounded himself with the very best of those, who 'fitted' with his beliefs. The CIM adherence to the tenets of evangelical holiness teaching meant women were theoretically equal to men, but cultural realities meant they ended up performing very similar tasks to women workers in the older missions, although named 'missionaries' in their own right. Amelia Broomhall is hailed as having "looked after ten children of her

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[92]Although their pronouncement against Chinese candidates appears unequivocal, it followed a heated exchange of letters between members. See: CIM/CP 74, 17 April 1909 and CIM/CP 74, 12 January 1909 pp. 489-91.
[93]CIM/LCM 12, 23 February 1909.

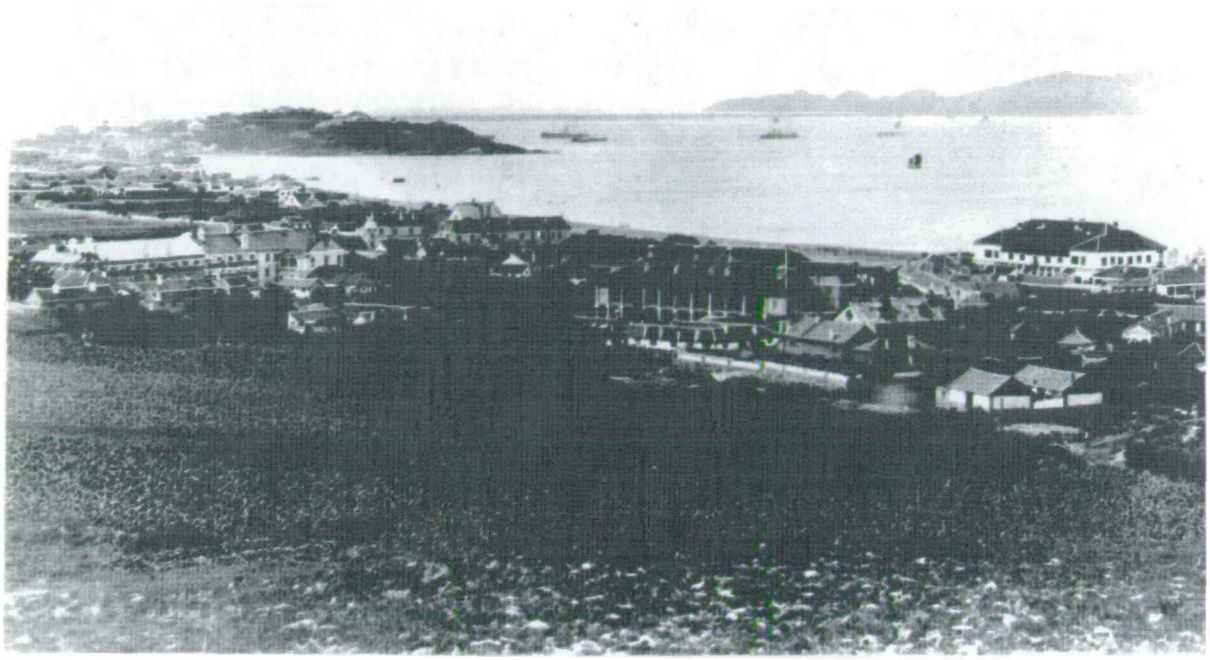

Figure 8: 'In' But Not 'Of' China: The Chefoo Schools c.1910

own and six or eight Taylors, plus the women's receiving home, and [she] generally oiled the wheels. There were many, many Amelia's in the CIM, humble unassuming women who washed the dishes and made the beds so the others could do the 'work'".[94]

The Chefoo schools played a small but important part of the mission's work in China. Their existence allowed what were the majority of female mission workers, those who were married and at this time that almost inevitably meant had children, to remain or return to active missionary status by placing mission children in what was considered by the mission to be a safe, Christian environment, in China so that families could get together more often. The mission could be saved the costs of transporting a growing number of children around the world. In particular, safety included a very specific reading of Christianity - inspired by holiness teaching and the revival movements of the nineteenth century, and refined by the mission's own beliefs in the necessity of a second religious experience in even a professing Christian where the individual was filled with the Holy Spirit. The savings inherent in educating children in China for a mission with tight fiscal base were important to mission strategy, although quite quickly issues of the control and protection of members and their offspring came to dominate issues

[94]Austin, "Pilgrims and Strangers", p.71.

surrounding the school.

Perhaps the most potent image of Chefoo as a world 'in between' is one in which F.W. Baller (by the 1920s an old man of the mission) is described playing cricket in his Chinese dress - cricket, the game of the English public school, yet in a scholar's gown and queue, even in a time when the mission had ceased insisting that all members dress so.[95]

[95]Martin, Chefoo, p.50.

Chapter Six

Gender and the Professionalization of Victorian Society: The Mission Example

"the proportion of women sent out being too large, arises form the fact that so many more women than men apply, and as this is a universal experience amongst missionary Societies, the only resort is in prayer, that the Lord will so interfere that men may come forward in larger numbers"[1]

6.1 Introduction

Industrialism had resulted in a nineteenth century Britain shaped by "a social revolution with social causes and a social process as well as profound social effects, including the demise of the pre-industrial aristocratic society and the rise of the viable class society of mid-Victorian England".[2] In the last two decades a non-entrepreneurial professional class began to overtake the aristocratic and capitalist elites of the previous generation in both numbers and importance. In the older social systems wealth was limited to land and capital, and concentrated in the hands of the few who controlled those resources. The rise of professionalism represented an expansion of the concept of wealth to include the resource of skilled and knowledgeable labour.[3] This resulted in a changing social ideal. The idea that a man could achieve success through access to labour and capital translated into a reliance on hard work and education. The professional proved himself "by persuading the rest of society and ultimately the state that his service was vitally important and therefore worthy of guaranteed reward".[4] One means of doing so lay in providing a service considered to be of value; the other was to subject this opportunity for individual advancement to rigorous scrutiny and exclude the unqualified, a term which was under constant revision. Gender was one important social category by which individuals in the late nineteenth century were understood by others and by which they defined themselves both personally and professionally. Gender played an important part in this revision of the concept of professional qualifications as increasing numbers of women began to have access to education and thus were granted entry to professional job

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[1]CIM/LCM 9, 20 June 1899.
[2]Perkin, Harold, (1969) The Origins of Modern English Society (London) p.xi.
[3]Perkin, Professional Society, p.xii.
[4]Ibid., p.xiii.

markets.

How the profession of 'missionary' was defined underwent a profound change over the course of the nineteenth century. It became increasingly professional in terms of providing a uniquely valuable service, and by creating exclusive qualifications for service.[5] In doing so it married secular and religious concerns with varying degrees of success. Earlier in the nineteenth century missionaries qualified for work based on their membership in an 'aristocracy of ecclesiastic office', or they cashed in the 'capital of faith'. By the end of the century missionaries themselves and the mission societies became increasingly systematic in assessing the needs of their work and defining the skills necessary to meet those needs, and in excluding those who did not meet their requirements. This chapter explores this process of change in more detail, taking into account the specifics of each of the missions in question. The professionalization of missions resulted from the rising social status and education of mission workers in general and women in particular, and the influence brought to bear by the holiness movement, which influenced the existing denominations and resulted in the creation of the new branch of Faith Missions. This meant that by the 1890s, trained, middle-class volunteers of both sexes to missions had more choices than ever before. All three societies in this study expressed concern about the number and quality of candidates applying to be missionaries at the end of the century. Women candidates in particular posed a problem and the societies continued to put more relative weight on an assessment of women's social background over training compared to male candidates. This continued to be the case even after women were granted increased access to formal education.[6] This is particularly true for the CIM, whose rejection of the training and administration apparatus of the older societies obliged it to create new selection and training methods. Each mission was influenced by women joining their professional workforce. Women challenged traditional gendered definitions of 'professional' work. Initially their presence reinforced men's attachment to the traditional male spheres of responsibility, but eventually this was modified by men's exposure to the personal style of female colleagues and the influence of the emotional

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[5]For a recent treatment of this topic see: Cox, Jeffrey (1995) "The Missionary Movement", in Nineteenth Century English Religious Traditions: Retrospect and Prospect (ed. Paz, D.G.) (London), 197-221.
[6]Leneman, Leah (2000) "'No Unsuitable Match': Defining Rank in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Scotland" *JSH* 33(3). 665-683.

spiritualism of Keswick.

The religious and the secular intertwine throughout a discussion about the professionalization of missions in a manner which makes analysis of this topic difficult, but which should not be ignored. Missions paralleled wider secular professional society in the way in which education requirements replaced social markers as a way of differentiating between those deemed qualified, and those unqualified for mission life.[7] In this discussion professionalization is taken to mean the definition of 'self' in relation to 'other', as a means of understanding the increasing numbers of women in missions, and in order that the role gender played in mission administration and polity can be discussed in a more meaningful manner. For both men and women, mission education involved a shift from a time when mission societies assessed the education candidates possessed prior to making application, to the societies themselves developing mission-specific courses and colleges, where the education and experience candidates brought with them could be supplemented. Men accepted by the LMS and Scottish Presbyterian Missions were either ordained, or at the very least came out of ecclesiastical traditions where men dominated the official ordained and lay positions in British Protestant churches; however, it soon became clear that preparation for the home ministry did not necessary result in a productive mission career.[8] Assessment of women's suitability for mission work was initially based less on academic achievements, and more on the possession of some broadly-defined general education. It was heavily reliant on social and familial networks. The selection of female workers was thus initially very much an assessment of whether or not the candidate could be considered 'ladylike'. For mission societies these markers of respectability were inextricably linked to religious motivation and theological knowledge in ways which did not apply to men. For women candidates in particular, experience in the field indicated this assessment process was unsatisfactory. The older societies created their own homes and Training Institutes to ensure that the candidates being hired fitted their criteria, and could withstand life as a missionary. Because the CIM began by hiring male candidates without formal academic qualifications, they too were required to live at CIM Training Institutions in order to be assessed and trained. Towards the end of the

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[7]Perkin, Professional Society, p. 2; Also see: Huggins, Mike (2000) "More Sinful Pleasures? Leisure, Respectability and the Male Middle Classes in Victorian Britain" *JSH* 33(3), 585-601.
[8]Gill, Women.

century when the majority of applicants to all three missions were primarily college educated, these training institutes switched emphasis to ensuring that mission workers' religious belief matched the ethos of the particular mission.

By the mid-1860s, the start of this study, women had been active in missions for more than half a century, as health and the demands of family allowed, and their professional roles and presence on stations indelibly shaped Protestant missions. This occurred in both professional and personal ways. Women's mission projects were originally tangential to the ecclesiastical roles restricted to ordained missionaries, and became widely defined as 'women's work for women'. They created a niche for the single female workers who followed in great numbers after 1880 and their professional efforts are credited with having provided an important impetus to mission giving throughout the nineteenth century. Their 'good work' contributed to an eventual secularisation of missions in the twentieth century, as it began to dominate mission work and theology in response to disappointing mission results, and a growing belief in the importance of a broader concern for the promotion of moral and social reform.[9] This came about via the important influence of Keswick spirituality which married emotion with the concern for social activism of the secularly-educated male and female mission workers. Keswick holiness has a particularly far-reaching effect since it crossed traditional boundaries - it was non-denominational, gender inclusive and relied on popular means to transmit religious methods and inspire and reinforce individual spirituality. Thus its influence was felt not only in older Protestant churches and their missions, but also in the CIM which, by the end of the nineteenth century, was dominated by university-trained men, and women who joined this faith mission with previous assumptions about women's work in missions.[10]

It is also important to understand both the private and public role played by mission women, as they contributed to the creation and maintenance of the boundary markers which indicated a professional mission identity. Studies of British society indicate how

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[9]Marshall, David B. (1992) Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940 (Toronto) p.102; Bebbington, David W. (1989) Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History From the 1730s to the 1980s (London) p.104.
[10]Robert, American Women, p.204.

important gendered roles were in demarcating class status.[11] Recent scholarly interest has focused on the tension inherent in the myriad of cultural encounters which comprised the Imperial experience.[12] The missionary interface is as varied as the rest of the Imperial encounter, yet study after study illustrates that there existed firm limits to cultural pluralism. Throughout the nineteenth century, women's mission rhetoric in particular focused on the home as the most potent site for this change to occur. In part this reflected gendered expectations about women's skills and interests, but it was also the result of experience; mission workers quickly became acutely aware of how dangerous was the influence that a foreign environment had on their own children. Their own precarious class position at the cusp between middle and working- class respectability, and financial pressures meant that mission families, keen to ensure their children's souls, their future livelihood and a welcome home in proper British society, remained preoccupied with this issue throughout this period.[13] For each of the societies in this study protecting mission children from the dangers of the mission field was a very real concern which was addressed differently by each mission. The decision about what to do with children was generally left up to the family, but at a cost to mission funds and energy. The CIM in particular made the education and upbringing of mission children a central feature of its *Principles and Practices*. The importance of cultural markers to mission workers was reflected in mission employment practices throughout this period. The theology of women's mission was a domestic mission theory focusing on the important function women's interactions with their 'heathen sisters' had in mission work. Yet concerns about gender were intricately connected with wider mission developments, for example the debate about whether social welfare had any place in the mission endeavour, and related to that, what sorts of message could an increasingly professional and specialised, religiously liberal mission workforce impart through their increasingly secular work.

6.2 The Professional Development of Mission Workers

On the surface it is relatively straightforward to describe the boundaries which defined the

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[11]Perkin, Professional Society, pp.107-8; Davidoff, Leonora (1995), "Landscape with Figures: Home and Community in British Society" in Worlds Between, p.260; Leneman, "No Unsuitable Match".
[12]Stroebel, European Women; Ware, Beyond the Pale.
[13]Grimshaw, Patricia (1983), "Christian Woman, Pious Wife, Faithful Mother, Devoted Missionary: Conflicts in the Roles of American Missionary Women in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii", *FS* 9(3), 489-521.

mission profession as the societies developed from amateur, voluntary associations into large administrators of trained workers. This study attempts to link the more obvious professional markers such as education and practice more closely to personal and social boundaries which are much more difficult to assess. Making these links was initially necessary in order to assess the applications of female candidates since the nature of their background and experience did not strictly match criteria designed to discuss masculine professional status. However, it also appears that this exercise has had a further application. It has had important ramifications for the discussion of male mission candidates and their experience as workers, and for the mission profession in general. In the first case, it has become clear that it is necessary to understand pressures which caused nineteenth-century male mission workers to be unwilling, and perhaps even unable, to discuss the more personal aspects of their life and work. Despite the fact that family and social networks included men, both participation in, and perceptions of these networks, are gendered processes. Men were supposed to support their families by labouring outside the home; women created and maintained social boundaries involving family, material culture, religious beliefs and racial hierarchies, which reinforced professional difference. Religious professions were unique in that the possession of a personal faith in God and belief in a theological system were absolutely central qualifications. This study discusses the way in which conventions about gender informed private belief and the professional manifestation of belief.

In missions social boundaries acted both to demarcate the mission from its environment, and as an evangelical tool. The creation of a familiar home environment where mission children could be raised on a western middle-class model was an attempt to ensure their future status, and provided one means by which missionaries could maintain religious and cultural difference between themselves and the local population. However women's domestic skills and attention to social contact came to be of increasing importance in the centre of the mission venture. Their skills often served as an introduction in communities uninterested in the evangelical message. Their letters home which compared foreign social arrangements to the British home and way of life helped make missions 'real'. Finally, as the nineteenth century closed, what had been considered 'women's work' gained recognition as making a meaningful contribution to mission method, and women's ways of working - through primary education and health care, social gatherings and Youth

Groups - came to be seen as valuable evangelical tools.

Beginning in the 1850s, each of the Protestant missions developed a professional identity based on both society-specific and common cultural factors. The Scottish Presbyterian missions reflected their Calvinist roots by creating a patriarchal church community based on strong lay-leadership, and one which had a long-standing appreciation for the provision of education and the participation of women in church and community life. The Presbyterian missions are the only explicitly denominational missions in this study, and they are the only missions for whom administrative structures were already in place at their inception. This allowed the Presbyterians mission to address certain problems within an established tradition. In particular the Scottish missions in India reflected the Presbyterian commitment to education which resulted in a focus on higher-level, formal education provision in large centres.[14] However this was not a method which endeared itself to the mission supporters. The manner in which work in the EHM was funded and the type of work undertaken by the Presbyterians in the Himalayan foothills towards the close of the century represent a direct response to the older institutional focus on elite education. The LMS commitment to an interdenominational evangelical mission practice led to a widely based mission with a character which reflected both the locale, and something of the individuality of specific workers. Administration through a large Board of Directors reflected its widely dispersed domestic base and primarily Congregational leadership. Actual policy matters were based upon the vision of the core of individuals who made up the LMS head offices, and were often developed in response to some crisis or another in the field. Lastly, born in the second half of the nineteenth century, the CIM was a child of evangelical revival, and was shaped by the powerful personality of one man, as a response to what he saw as the older Protestant missions wasting resources.

The institutional nature of these three missions, and the administrative developments each underwent are perhaps more similar than they are different. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the face of mission recruitment was affected by the rising social status and education of volunteers to missions. Better-educated volunteers of both sexes offered to each of these missions from the 1880s on. Although numerically inferior to their

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[14]Porter, "Scottish Missions", 35-57.

colleagues, ordained clerics were paid more than those from the lay professions. They took on leadership roles on the District and Mission Councils through which local work was run in the LMS and Scottish Missions, and dominated in mission administration in Britain. Ordination titles were not used in the CIM, but it was the male university graduates who advanced quickly and assumed key administrative positions in the CIM.

At the end of the nineteenth century both male and female candidates, armed with more education than ever before, were faced with a wider choice of missions to which they could offer their services. Women exercised their choice in favour of organisations where they could put into practice their training and exert evangelical influence. The result of this can be seen in the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society's (CEZMS) difficulty in attracting candidates it deemed qualified to work as lady visitors at the end of the century.[15] The Presbyterian missions also entertained low numbers of female applicants at this time but for slightly different reasons. The Presbyterian emphasis on education appears to have been better understood by its adherents than was the expectation of the CEZMS that its pool of applicants be 'ladies'. The women with advanced vocational training and the desire to work in missions who might have applied to work in either, instead chose the newer faith missions which promised women the freedom to exercise their training and ability.

The results were not always as expected. The exceptional beginnings of these missions are well recorded, but as faith missions developed, women's roles were actually reduced from what they had been in the older missions. In what was a very gradual process, women in mainstream missions took on varied projects and eventually began to participate as mission administrators. Work which had previously been considered 'women's' also became a more general mission focus. The initial commitment of the CIM to employ women workers was modified as a result of the reality that male and female workers approached their work with gendered expectations. Women had brought with them pre-existing social concerns and expectations resulting from their previous knowledge of women's work in missions, while men had low expectations about the utility of female

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[15]Morawiecki, "Peculiar Mission".

co-workers.[16] The mission was also under fire from other missions and British society which criticised the missions' breech of gendered taboos. The employment of women workers had a preordained endpoint; it was a means by which the CIM could quickly create a professional organisation. When enough men were available to take over the evangelical mission work, emphasis switched away from women as leaders and towards women as helpers.[17] The CIM was exceptional in its plans to use women as travelling evangelists as envisioned by Hudson Taylor. However, even in this mission the majority of women ended up engaged in what was considered traditional women's work, and what has become known as 'women's work for women' - nursing, teaching children and mentoring women. Yet in a mission which rejected the usefulness of such social work in the mission enterprise, this type of work and thus women's worth ended up being de-valued.[18]

6.2.1 The Professionalization of Women's Work

The first women in the mission field were the relatives of male missionaries; the work they established was passed on to the first women hired as single mission workers in the 1860s. To begin with, these single women were assessed according to the 'ladylike qualities' the work begun by their predecessors was seen to require. During the period covered by this study, attention to class markers never completely disappeared, but as the century closed female candidates were expected to marry these, alongside their religious commitment, with vocational qualifications. This professionalization of female mission workers was further shaped by the expectations of nineteenth-century middle-class British society. The women who applied to missions could do so because of the perception that they, as middle class women, were uniquely qualified to challenge the strength of culture which was frustrating conversion efforts.[19] However these same factors also limited women's access to certain qualifications and types of work. The professional development of women's work in missions is complicated by the very fact that their work did not strictly fit into the male professional model where remuneration and professional status

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[16]Robert, American Women, pp.204-5.
[17]Fiedler, Faith Missions, p.297.
[18]Robert, American Women, p.254.
[19]For a recent synopsis of such arguments see: Maughan, Steven (2000) "Civic Culture, Women's Foreign Missions, and the British Imperial Imagination, 1860-1914" Trentman, Frank (ed.) Paradoxes of Civil Society: New Perspectives on Modern German and British History (New York), 199-222.

resulted from hard work and training. Men's status was also dependent on the middle-class notion that professional status and respectability was inseparable from freeing dependants from waged labour.

Thus, women's roles in missions were based on ambiguities which resulted in their ambiguous professional status. Their training was in areas of work considered innately female, for which women need not be compensated. As long as women's work was limited to the female relatives of male missionaries it could remain an unpaid duty. However, single women required pay. From the beginning this mixed pool of workers resulted in administrative clashes and an under-valuation of women's work in administrative and financial terms.[20] In a society where family ties were paramount, young single women were considered bound to families to whom they could return if the need arose, and might be expected to return to meet certain obligations. These single workers were not expected to have dependants so their wages could remain low. All these factors were coupled with the expectation that workers had been 'called' to work for God; for women no financial reward was expected to better this blessing which was pay in itself.

One way of understanding how the professional status of women evolved in missions is to look at how the various societies in question viewed marriage. Examining marriage roles underlines the ambiguities inherent in the relative status of women both in missions and British society. The wives of missionaries were often women who had responded to a call to missions as readily as had their partners. Studies of early nineteenth-century American missions contain cases of women who actually sought out missionary partners in order to enter a field barred to single women at that time.[21] Similar anecdotes do not appear to exist in the British case where wives' commitment to mission work was examined as rigorously as their mates. In cases where one of an engaged couple was refused by the mission, a woman was more likely to continue on in the application process without her partner than was a man, presumably because for a man this would have constituted abandonment.

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[20]Haggis, "Good Wives"; see also Haggis, "Professional Ladies", pp.30 and 262.
[21]Grimshaw, Paths of Duty.

However, the reality experienced by these women was quite different than many had expected. The demands of raising large families in tropical climates limited the time that women could spend on outside duties; instead, setting an example as Christian wives and mothers was lauded by mission societies. However, the contribution made by these women to the mission effort has been consistently ignored. In his major history of the LMS Goodall included a single paragraph to

> register the fact that continuing service which [wives] may render is without any contractual obligation. The volume and nature of this service is incalculable. Apart from all that a wife's companionship means in a man's work, apart from the distinctive contribution in Christian witness which a missionary home offers, there has always been rendered by missionary wives' an immense volume of work in schools, dispensaries and cottage industries, in translation and literary work, in the training of women workers, and in experiments that bear the stamp of a creative originality. To have attempted a record of this work, or even to have named all the outstanding illustrations of it would have been too large an undertaking. With all its inadequacy this single salute to a company which included in many cases the real heroes of the story must be all that can be offered.[22]

This is a complimentary but too-short summation of the contribution made by mission wives.

Contemporary analyses perpetuate this omission by emphasising training and remuneration at the expense of alternative factors which impacted emerging professionalism. The contractual obligations of mission workers were not limited to a set rate of remuneration in return for a day's labour or a set length of time. As religious workers missionaries' private beliefs and actions merged with public duty both in theory and practice. Station life meant working and living together in close proximity. Mission projects merged together work which at home would have been demarcated as either professional or volunteer labour. In the mission world, women's developing professionalism included a re-negotiation of what constituted professional work and personal lives.

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[22]Goodall, History, p.13.

Women's professional development was defined in ways which emphasised their position relative to family, societal structures and the mission, over the qualities which defined the professional status of men during this period. This notion is quite clear in the application procedures, and further evidence of it can be found in the attitudes of mission societies towards marriage, in discussions surrounding the employment of mission daughters, and in station incidents which underline the expectation of older married missionaries that relations between themselves and their younger female colleagues should follow the familiar family model. In part, a study of women's professional development in missions is one of noting the challenge that the work of single women offered to the nineteenth-century family model.

One reason why missions served as an acceptable work option for respectable, middling-class women was that female workers simply transferred familial obligations onto the mission. In the case of the wives of missionaries this was quite literally the case. Fiancées of missionaries applying to the LMS were presented to the Society in letters written by their fathers and fiancés; their presence in the mission endeavour was dependent on their having formed a partnership with a man, and the expectation of the mission was that their role was first of all domestic. Whatever time was left-over could be filled by visiting local women and teaching children. This women's work was never well represented in official publications, but women's skills in using informal networks of communication enabled them to attract financial support for their work. Women were able to devise strategies to protect these funds from male mission administrators both at home and in the field until projects became too large for the networks of individual workers and the ladies' volunteer organisations to finance.[23] The legal arrangements for building projects also required a male hand. In one way, the arrival of single female workers validated the work done previously by wives, but the manner in which these workers were vetted and the terms of their employment actually undermined the position of wives, whose work remained too close to a female model to be appreciated as professional and a valuable contribution to the mission effort.

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[23]Haggis, "Professional Ladies", p.135; Brouwer, New Women, pp.49-51.

The first female candidates hired by mission societies continued to be vetted on notions of middle-class respectability; however, while mission families had been expected to provide a concrete example of a Christian mission home, their daughters failed to meet the changing requirements demanded by the sending society. Due to financial pressures mission daughters were more likely than their brothers to have stayed in the mission field to be educated, and so did not meet increasing standards for vocational training.[24] The arguments made by families in favour of the appointment of daughters drew on arguments of familial obligation, vocation and duty. A daughter's employment was described in terms of transferring her dependence on a father to dependence on the mission - an argument which devalued her skills and training, and emphasised the notion that they were attached to the mission in other than a professional manner.

When the daughters of missionaries were hired locally, they were often on a much lower pay scale than women hired in England. This parallels how locally-hired Eurasian women were remunerated for their labour.[25] The argument given by the London Boards for this practice was that without meeting candidates they could not assess them properly; this was an early tendency to protect their control over the emerging profession.[26] It also underscored the discomfort elicited by the fact that mission daughters were forced to move from a position of dependence to independence. Daughters and wives were valued members of the mission, but in the capacity of supporting and providing work which complemented that of their male relatives. Tension resulted from requests to change those relationships. That the request was made within the mission community obliged the society to deal with the request, and stressed the system being developed to rationalise women's work. It appears to have caused both the Ladies and Men's Committees great consternation to have to deal with requests to hire the daughters and widows of their male workers; that these women needed the security of work outside of their family was evidence that the middle-class family model, centred on a male bread-winner, was untenable. The application of these women complicated the model of female recruitment

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[24]Buettner, "Families and Memories", p.215.

[25]P.P.905.c *News of Female Missions in Connexion with the Church of Scotland* Vol. 1 p.214 Wm. Macfarlane 28 December 1859 - "she is better qualified for the work than the most accomplished governess you could send from Scotland at twice the salary".

[26]E. Greaves wrote to complain of the practise. See: CWM UP(NI)C 14a/1 E. Greaves to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 11 October 1888.

in that they had a prior claim on the society, yet their need for financial remuneration challenged arguments which validated women's work as a vocation rather than strictly a profession. The need for the dependent females in a family grouping to work signalled that men were failing, both in the mission where their work was central, and as the head of households.

A similar challenge was offered when single women workers married in the mission field. The arguments against women missionaries marrying quickly were couched in professional terms, and financial penalties were created by the Ladies Committees of both the Presbyterians and the LMS in an attempt to stop their agents from marrying. Women candidates were vetted for many qualities, one being that they did not seem to be on the look-out for a mate. They were asked to sign a pledge not to marry, generally for at least four years, and schedules were created which calculated the portion of their passage and outfit money to be returned if a new worker broke the agreement.[27] Committee discussions became almost ludicrous, with the women complaining they lost the services of trained workers, while the men responded that there was a clear need to hire less attractive workers.[28] Female workers in the CIM were also expected to be unattractive, and prepared to accept the mission's authority. However, while arguments against the marriage of these women were formulated in terms of finance and the administrative difficulties caused by the loss of their services, in reality these underline the challenge that the marriage of a female worker offered to the negotiation taking place at this time about women's place in professional society, both in missions and British society in general. A space for the work of female workers had been created by emphasising that there existed a type of work that men could not do, and that the realities of married life limited the amount of work a partner could be reasonably expected to participate in. When a trained single woman married quickly, she was seen as reneging on the expectation that the training and selection of female workers was necessary or worthwhile. While feminine qualities were useful both at home and professionally, part of how women carved out a professional role was to distance themselves from their alternative role as dependent female family members. A single worker who married crossed back over the gap from

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[27]MS.Dep.298.10 FMC MB ff.69, 12 July 1869.
[28]H2.90.379 UFCofS (1909) FM Reports of the FMC, Women's Foreign Mission and Livingstonia, United Free Church of Scotland (Edinburgh) p.6.

being a rigorously trained professional, to performing tasks more strictly linked to innate female qualities.

Discussions about the marriage of male members of these missions took on a very different form in keeping with divergent expectations of men and marriage. Unlike women, for whom professionalization included a respectable distancing of themselves from their roles as wives and daughters, male professionalization included an expectation of family reliance which denoted respectability and stability. When questions were raised about the suitability of marriage, these took the form of concern about the maturity or religious conviction of an intended partner, her health, or the safety of the region to which the couple might move. There was no suggestion a male missionary would have to give up his work due to the commitments of family life. By the 1880s all three missions in this study tried to enforce the rule that men should not marry for the first two or three years of their mission in order that they could ground themselves in language study and mission work, and create a safe home to protect the health of new wives and the inevitable children. In the Scottish missions and the LMS, this strong suggestion was generally accepted by candidates, although a few obstinate workers married right away. The CIM was more rigorous in the enforcement of this policy; both male and female members who married without the permission of Hudson Taylor could be expelled from the mission. In this latter case the policy appears to have been part of a system of rigorous control and submission to the authority of the mission, and was used as a means of protecting an organisation with a very specific evangelical ethos/beliefs from outside influence.

While each of these missions might not have wanted their male workers to marry immediately on their employment, there was a strong argument for male missionaries to marry at some point in their career. In these British missions, the combination of male sexuality and a foreign culture was seen as a mixture which threatened individual Christians, the mission enterprise and western moral control of the cultural interface. In the case of these three missions, problems having to do with sexuality do not often appear in letters and minutes. On the odd occasions when they were recorded, any discussion was couched in veiled terms, and was linked to a penalty of some sort. This British example is distinctly at odds with recent studies of both Norwegian and American missions. In each case the mission regulated the marriage of candidates in order to ensure that the

partnership served as an example of Christian family life and the partner was committed to an evangelical purpose. However, while a similar paradigm shaped the manner in which British missions addressed matters involving male and female sexuality, this was always done in very inexplicit terms. During this period the Norwegian Missionary Society was very explicit in its description of marriage not only an example of Christian life, but as a means of controlling male sexuality.[29] Sexual transgressions were also described in reports and in conference proceedings in absolute, anatomical detail. Fifty years earlier American missionaries in Hawaii had also described in general terms the need to channel male sexuality through marriage, and on occasion discussed sexual matters in some detail. [30] Only two men working for the ABCFM in the South Pacific in this period were accused of sexual misconduct but in both cases members of the mission described the cases quite openly.[31] The regulation of children's sexuality was a cause of concern for these mission wives,[32] and occasional letters survived which describe sexual attraction between wives and husbands.[33]

More often matters having to do with sexuality remained a matter of unspoken taboo, this despite the fact that sexual behaviour played a central role in Christian morality and sexuality in defining personal and professional worth. Missionaries preoccupied themselves with the structure of gender relations in other cultures without examining the state of relations in their own mission communities. Their inability to discuss these problems suggests more than a simple discomfort with discussing sexual matters. These individuals simply lacked the vocabulary to discuss issues relating to gender in other than prescribed ways. These more dramatic incidents being brushed under the carpet highlight relations between the sexes in general. Challenging the *status quo* was bad.

The few incidents of sexual misdemeanours which occurred on LMS stations in North

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[29]Predelli, Line Nyhagen (1998) "Norwegian Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century Madagascar: Marriage as Structure of Opportunity, Regulations of Sexuality and Example of Christian Life" NAMP Cambridge Research Forum Paper, pp.23-4.
[30]Grimshaw, Paths of Duty, p.6.
[31]At the General Meeting in 1864 colleagues discussed one missionary who had fondled girls in his school, and another who had an affair with an elder in his church. See: Ibid., p. 85.
[32]Mission wives ran their own 'Maternal Meetings' in conjunction with their husbands' official meetings. This discussion took place in 1840. See: Ibid., p.82.
[33]Ibid., p.72. See also Tosh, John (1999) A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England (New Haven) pp.57-9.

India indicate that mission colleagues were loath to report one another. In fact in the incident described in Chapter Two involving a new missionary and the wife of his senior colleague, it is impossible to guess exactly the nature of the 'indiscretion' which had occurred. The incident might not have come to light at all had not the offending party been borrowing sermons as well as the wife. Domestically, mission administrators were similarly unwilling to draw attention to sexual impropriety, although close readers of station reports may have guessed the whereabouts of one promising female student who disappeared after being sent for medical training in Ludhiana in 1891. Her withdrawal from her course was never officially acknowledged, but in a letter not intended for publication, Rose Marris suggested this had been due to her pregnancy. She "got herself in trouble" which made her a double disappointment since she was neither a good Christian, nor a responsible professional.[34] A Scottish missionary and his new wife similarly disappeared, this time from FMC reports. In 1883 when the request was made that the deceased wife's photo be included in *The Record*, no one in Edinburgh could find one.[35] It later transpired that the missionary had left Darjeeling quickly and resurfaced in Africa where his wife, a member of the Anglo-Indian community in Darjeeling, died giving birth to the baby which had necessitated their marriage and move from India. In this case the Convenor of the FMC pointed out someone else's mistake when he wrote to Rev. H. Grattan Guinness in 1884 after having noticed in an article in *The Regions Beyond* indicating that this former Presbyterian worker had been hired.[36] It does seem to have been slightly easier for missionaries and administrators to describe issues of sexuality when the subjects under discussion were from another race. They could not avoid certain discussions, such as in North India when the mission was forced to address the issue of baptising polygamists, and whether or not the men and women living in the leper asylum, who had been married previously, could then take up married relations again, with another inmate.[37] Dr. H Budden was exceptional in his candid and heart-felt revelations about his struggles to reconcile theological and practical matters, but even he was never explicit about this marital question.

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[34]CWM NI(UP)C 14b 1 R. Marris to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 17 March 1891.
[35]MS.7546 CofSFMC LB of the Secretary ff.651, J. Maclagan to Rev. G. Sutherland, 5 September 1883.
[36]MS.7555 CofSFMC Private LB ff.211, J. Maclagan to H. Gratton Guinness, 6 March 1884.
[37]CWM NI(UP)C 6 1/D 101 and 103 H. Budden to A. Tidman, 24 March 1866 and 12 June 1866; and 6 3/D 48, n.d.

Discussions about sexual matters are very circumspect even in internal documents.[38] CIM CC Minutes record the removal of a male missionary for displaying a "lack of stability of character and discretion";[39] in another, a married missionary responsible for the "strained relations" with the single women on his station was sent home on furlough,[40] and the missionary who explained his "immoral conduct" with a local woman as "a temporary fit of insanity" was fired "in view of his previous unbecoming relations with the woman in question".[41] While the Council was willing to detail mental breakdowns, financial irregularities and incidents where missionaries acted in culturally inappropriate ways, they were singularly uncomfortable in describing sexual transgressions and pronouncing on the wrong in the action. Those outside the mission could use such imprecise language to their advantage. Hiring single female workers made the CIM the target of sexual innuendo within the European community in China; wrongdoing was alleged to have occurred both between missionaries, and between mission workers and Chinese nationals.[42]

The discomfort British missions displayed in dealing with, and particularly in discussing sexual misconduct is an extreme example of the discomfort occasioned by men having to interact with women in ways which challenged their understanding of gender-prescribed roles. Nineteenth-century middle-class sexual rhetoric was governed by rules centred around the home; this is reflected in the use of the terms 'brother and sister' to describe mission workers.[43] The changing role of women in the mission enterprise took them out of the home and into arenas made respectable by their religious associations. The decision to pay women workers opened up new sets of meanings and relationships in the work[44] which were potentially dangerous, given the challenge they presented to the *status quo*. Many of the older mission workers in this study communicated with younger female colleagues presumably in the only way they knew - like younger female relatives over whom they would could exercise a form of authority legitimated by age, gender, education and experience. The newly-recruited female workers came from middle class

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[38]For an early example: Piggin, "Background and Training", p.37.
[39]CIM/CP 74 Rev. B.W. Upward, 2 April 1903.
[40]CIM/CP 74 Mr. C.N. Brimley, 11 October 1907.
[41]CIM/CP 74 Mr. A. Holland, 30 August and 4 September 1900.
[42]*The North China Herald* (1989) "Letter to the Editor"; "Cynicus." 10 September 1898.
[43]Predelli and Miller, "Piety and Patriarchy", pp.67-113.
[44]Haggis, "Professional Ladies", p.262.

families and their applications show they fully understood their place in family and society, but their offer of service served a challenge to these conventions, while maintaining the rules of acceptable behaviour for a young evangelical female. Female professions were based on a perception that women possessed innate qualities which made them good at certain things; this made it even more difficult to perceive a clear difference between women's work in the home and in the workforce, and lengthened the time in which it took for the work of women generally, and their contribution to missions in particular, to be appreciated and acknowledged.

It might be expected that this process would have occurred more quickly in the CIM, which Hudson Taylor had constructed on revivalist, anti-clerical ideas, and where wives were elevated to the level of full missionary. However, it has to be stressed that Taylor's rhetoric attracted as many women to other missions as readily as to the CIM. After the original party, large numbers of women were only hired by the CIM after 1880, and then not initially as evangelists but as part of the mission's distribution of aid in response to widespread famine.[45] Although single CIM women and wives could gain seniority and be granted full missionary status, few of them ever became Senior Missionaries, and no woman served as a Provincial Superintendent. None are recorded as having attended the CC, although they were present during meetings.[46]

There are several reasons why wives' status remained secondary. The biological reality of women's married life was that their child-bearing years were spent pregnant, breast-feeding or recovering from related complications.[47] Further, CIM workers came from the same middling-class background as did workers of other societies, and brought to the mission similar middle-class expectations of gendered roles. Working-class families on the cusp of being middle-class may have had an even stronger commitment to the type of middle-class ideas which kept focused on 'good works' than did families solidly ensconced as middle-class, since their respectability relied more on social boundaries than on financial divisions.[48] Women attracted to the rhetoric of absolute dependence on God

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[45]Williams, "Recruitment and Training", pp.301-15.
[46]CIM/CP 1869-1910
[47]Grimshaw, Paths of Duty, p.47; and Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood", pp.89-92, 112-14.
[48]Davidoff, "Landscape With Figures", p.97.

as mediated through the CIM, arrived with pre-set notions of women's work. Similar to other mission societies and women's ministries at home, CIM women preached, but their evangelical influence was channelled through gender-specific work under the supervision of men.[49] The best Peter Williams can muster about the realities of women's work in the CIM was that it provided the stage on which the surprising capabilities of women could be demonstrated; in this period it would be better to say that they primarily remained stage hands. Further, while emphasis has been placed on the 'sister' in Taylor's call for workers, it might be more instructive to underline the subservient position of both 'brother' and 'sister' in the mission family with the Taylor-Broomhall dynasty firmly at the head.

6.2.2 Men's Changing Professionalization

Those on centre stage, those who had built the theatre, were producing the play and managing the theatre, were mostly male. This being the case, studies of male missionaries have focused on the type of material available for men in missions: the administration and financial developments of missions, formal church building and ecclesiastical traditions. Since women were barred from formal church roles and played a supportive role in early missions, records of their presence are less plentiful, and take a different form from those of men. The resulting picture of women's lives reflects the more creative means which have been necessary to access their lives, and emphasises the process by which social transformation came about other than the intricacies of church authority and government.[50] However the amount and type of material which is available has obscured the information about men which has been so important to consider in the case of women. The social background of male candidates, and their training, went through similar changes to those of women. They were also subject to some of the same secular and religious influences that affected female candidates and their work in the same period. Rather than focusing on mission policy and administration, this section addresses concerns similar to those that were raised for the female candidates and mission workers.

It has been possible to analyse male candidates' education and professional background in

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[49]CIM Occasional Papers of the China Inland Mission October. p.13; Williams, "Recruitment and Training", p.312; Robert, American Women, p.201.
[50]Maughan, "Regions Beyond", p.38.

ways impossible to do for women. Historians have therefore been able to focus more closely on men's narrow professional qualifications for mission work, rather than on the mixture of professional qualifications and markers of social boundaries considered by mission societies as central to the assessment of female candidates. Previous studies of mission candidates have included analyses of candidates' class status, in terms of the numbers of men in distinct categories.[51] Less attention has been paid to the grey areas between the categories which were in fact central to any assessment of the lives of nineteenth-century women.[52] These studies have addressed the motivation for male missionaries during this period. It would be unfair to suggest that they ignore either the personal or the spiritual dimension, but they categorise the personal expressions of faith offered by candidates on application as businesslike, since men tended to couch their applications in the language of their religious education. Both the societies and the candidates shared an understanding that the language of business was best employed to express religious faith - somewhere between the professional and the personal. Men trod a fine line - candidates were expected to display a proper deference to authority and willingness to self-sacrifice, yet the societies were suspicious of men who expressed an excess of religious enthusiasm.[53] Between 1850 and 1880, when candidates were joining established missions, to some extent freed from the dangers and uncertainties faced by pioneering missionaries, the candidate committees of the mainstream missions harboured suspicions that candidates were using the opportunity to work in mission to better themselves either financially or socially.[54] This was a particular concern until the 1880s when better-educated middle-class candidates began to dominate recruitment. They were considered to be above any suspicion that a mission career had been chosen for social or financial reasons; on the other hand their very independence made them less reliant on the mission, and at times difficult to control.[55]

After this period certain candidates continued to provide a 'textbook' expression of faith,

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[51]Williams, "Recruitment and Training"; Piggin, Making Missionaries, pp.29-55.
[52]In general women have received much less attention than men in class analysis since their identity was taken to depend on first their fathers and then their husband's place in society: Cannadine, David (1999) The Rise and Fall of Class in Britain (New York) pp.11-16. Also see: Perkin, Professional Society. For a more recent treatment of this question see: Leneman, "No Unsuitable Match".
[53]Williams, "Recruitment and Training", pp.151 and 224.
[54]Piggin, Making Missionaries, pp.128-31; Williams, "Recruitment and Training", pp.224-7 and 244.
[55]Williams, "Recruitment and Training", pp.142-47.

while others began to reflect the influence of the holiness movement/revival experience and to provide a more personal, emotive expression of their faith and life, more in the style of women candidates. This is true of the increasing numbers of applicants who were university educated or trained in religious institutions, and who, in the past, had hidden behind the formal ecclesiastical language of the classroom. This being the case, the language to describe religious enthusiasm remained engendered; a man would never describe himself nor be described as having a faith that is "warm and personal".[56] Although such sentiments were commonly employed to describe the religious life of female candidates, men kept emotion firmly in check.

Beginning in the 1860s, the CIM began to recruit candidates who were comfortable with expressing more intense religious enthusiasm than had been considered acceptable to the older mission societies. Over the next three decades CIM policy moved towards that of the mainstream Protestant missions; their simple acceptance of any candidate who displayed "Grace, ability, perseverance and tact" was replaced by a system in which potential members of the mission were trained and assessed in CIM training homes and during a period of apprenticeship.[57] While the LMS and Scottish missions retained their commitment to formal religious training and increasing professional qualification, this was tempered, at least in part, by their recognition of the CIM's recruitment success which had been achieved at their expense. The LMS, in particular, became increasingly open to the type of guardedly emotive, and theologically unsophisticated and uncertain expression of faith that was offered by George Brockway first in 1879 and then reiterated in 1886. Brockway was eighteen when he wrote to the Home Secretary asking for the Society to support him through his missionary education. His uncertainty is an initial surprise given that his parents were LMS missionaries and he was educated at Eltham College, the school in Blackheath for the sons of missionaries,

> I cannot say I have ever had any special call to it, but for some time now the desire for it has been growing stronger and stronger in me, and this coupled with my father's wish and your constant appeals to young men to come forward has induced me to offer myself as a worker for Christ in

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[56]CWM CP 1 14 no.832 Lillie Ashburner, Testimonial to Miss C. Bennett, October 1884.
[57]See above, pp.81-84.

heathen lands.[58]

However this initial unsophisticated expression is replicated in his official application, made after graduation from New College in Hampstead. Brockway's answer to one of the questions put to all candidates "What leads you to believe you are a Christian?" is completely different from the sort of answer provided by the previous generation. He says he feels it and believes it, but is unable to argue for it. He was unsystematic, describing his motivation as originating in the practical, external relations commonly picked out by women candidates: "all my life I have been in contact with missionaries and their children, and thus the thought of mission work needing to be done, has always been before my mind" although this is linked to a commitment to holiness.[59] He tempered the evangelical assurance which would have been present in his father's application with a sense of uncertainty. He expressed this in terms of the debate over Biblical criticism splitting the evangelical world at this time, but this may well have been part of a more general feeling of uncertainty experienced by men whose hegemonic status as middle-class Englishmen being eroded both at home and abroad at the end of the nineteenth century.[60] This application suggests how expectations of male religiosity had changed in the last decades of the nineteenth century when compared to the rhetorical assurance of fifty years earlier. However, not all male candidates were willing to 'open up', and some of the least communicative applicants then became dynamic workers. In a man like Robert Ashton, arid testimony and letters reveal little of the evangelical commitment he later demonstrated through his work and tireless campaigning for funds at home.[61] Rather than displaying any degree of uncertainty, his application recorded his apparent resentment of the entire selection procedure. He registered his protest by refusing to answer as expected. Ashton's personal dynamism, religious conviction and commitment to secular good works in mission led him to challenge the LMS Directors to keep his mission station open long past the time it seemed administratively sensible to do so, but his application gives no hint of such a future.

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[58]CWM CP 2/28 no. 842 William George Brockway, Initial Application at 18 yrs., 30 October 1879.
[59]Ibid., 12 December 1885.
[60]Bebbington, Evangelicalism, pp.37 and 60; Tosh, Man's Place, p.61.
[61]CWM CP 1 16 Robert J. Ashton, 5 September 1890 and 10 January 1891.

Training requirements for male missionaries hired by the LMS and the CIM changed during the period of this study, reflecting a concern that candidates trained to meet the standards of the home ministry were unable to provide the sort of leadership/direction necessary in the mission field.[62] By the 1870s ordained senior missionaries were joined at their stations by increasing numbers of middle-class workers, often with university education. In the next decade they were joined by significant numbers of women. The selection procedures and training provided for these later candidates were aimed at redressing what were seen as flaws in the training of mission candidates prior to 1850. For women this took the form of a gradual shift away from a dependence on family connections and their 'innately feminine' qualities, towards secular training in the newly developing professions. For men, this shift was part of a longer-term trajectory of professional mission development. This study's focus on stations in India and China has resulted in a concentration of educated candidates of a higher social status. This reflects the Scottish commitment to higher education in missions, an expensive strategy which resulted in relatively few converts in India between the 1820s and 1890s when its merits were challenged/questioned by evangelical supporters of missions.[63] The group would have looked quite different had African mission stations been included. There, a greater divide existed between missionaries hired to be lay teachers and labourers, and the ordained missionaries. Using the LMS as representing a middle ground, the change in men's education resulted in a shift away from religious training leading to ordination and an increasing acknowledgement, in the form of better pay and merit/respect, of secular professional activities. For the LMS, developing a mission-specific educational policy resulted in a change from mission education as a screening process, to using the time to provide skills which had been identified as necessary to function as missionaries. The LMS stands out in this regard given its commitment to support the education of candidates before 1850. Although the Scottish Kirk was unable to provide everyone the education to which it was committed, enough individuals possessed either basic education, or had gone on to Scottish universities to result in a valuable commodity which other societies were keen to import. The perception held by all three missions was that a Scottish education created candidates with valuable practical skills and personal

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[62]Williams, "Recruitment and Training", p.335.
[63]Porter, "Scottish Missions", 35-57.

qualities.[64] Further to this, Presbyterian candidates also made their application within a strict denominational structure which resulted in their rigorous screening prior to application. This is true to a lesser extent in the LMS since it relied on loose Congregational networks between independent chapels. Screening remained a direct preoccupation of CIM education late in the nineteenth century since the CIM consciously avoided denominational affiliation, and targeted candidates of religious extremes: the "neurotic personalities of obsessive types," and those who had experienced the requisite recent conversion experience, but might have by this time been considered unstable by either the LMS or the Presbyterians.[65]

Education changes came about as a result of other influences on the mission movement. The nineteenth century witnessed a broadening of what was considered professional missionary activity. In the first half of the century a mission professional was almost exclusively taken to be an ordained cleric; the LMS trained workers from the artisan class, but their refinement in the various training homes was necessary in order to distinguish them from other mission 'labourers', who were given shorter contracts for less pay, and were not initially able to participate on District Committees, the decision-making bodies in the field. By the 1880s the profession had widened considerably, first to include individuals like doctors whose professional standing in wider secular assured their status and recognition, and then to include educators and health professionals whose value lay in the provision of services imbued with evangelical concern, and which matched the interests of both the British evangelical public and the requirements of the emerging mission community. The reality of what appears to be a gradual progression, was that both ordained and lay workers were keen to protect their administrative power and status against other male workers, and against the local Christian community and female colleagues. The LMS missionaries in this study resisted broadening the base of local mission administration; ironically, in doing so they criticised the very preparation and training provided by the mission itself. Their anxiety over women's involvement manifested itself through criticism of women's inexperience in administrative matters,

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[64]Webb, "Literacy", 100-114; Brown, "Sunday School", 3-26; Brown, Scotland; MacKenzie, John M. (1993) "Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and Empire" *IHR* XV(4), 714-739.

[65]Williams, "Recruitment and Training", pp.60-65, 80-85 and 96 - his description of LMS trainees in the first half of the century; also see: Fiedler, Faith Missions, p.31.

and the danger of women vacating traditional domestic duties to assume what had been male professions.[66]

A growing body of literature has charted the effect of nineteenth-century revival on British religious society and missions.[67] In particular, by the 1890s, a dramatic change is said to have been affected in the lives of men. Middle-class women were leaving the home and their prescribed roles as supporters (of husbands and male relatives) and volunteer agents, to assume professional status based on merit, and to agitate for economic, legal and political rights. Men were thus under fire both at home where their position as household head was threatened, and in the workplace where they were asked to interact with women in novel ways.[68] Philanthropy, once the almost exclusive domain of women, became an important arena for the evangelical man of action.[69] However, what did not change substantially throughout the century was that the 'reformed' religious male tended to keep his personal home life and his public and professional persona sharply divided. This seems an anathema in a profession such as missions where private faith played a direct role in the creation of a professional identity, yet any cross-over between the two was one way. In British missions and for the men staffing them, it was considered normal to conduct any discussion of personal religious belief in the language of business. Evidence for this statement is provided in candidates' applications, and through comparing men's correspondence with that of their female colleagues.

While women applicants were expected to provide information about themselves from a variety of personal and professional sources, indicating how unimportant was the distinction between the private and personal, men's applications suggest a serious and sterile existence. The letters of reference supplied to the LMS in support of male applicants were mostly limited to those written by employers and college tutors; ministers comments were limited to an assessment of a wife or fiancée. Even in the CIM where

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[66]Heeney, Brian (1988) The Women's Movement in the Church of England 1850-1939 (Oxford) p.17.
[67]Porter, "Cambridge and Keswick", 5-34; Williams, "Recruitment and Training"; Bebbington, Evangelicalism; Marshall, Secularizing the Faith; Fiedler, Faith Missions; Kent, John (1978), Holding the Fort, (London).
[68]Tosh, Man's Place, p.151.
[69]Williams, "Recruitment and Training", p.244; Bebbington, Evangelicalism, pp.10, 37 and 70; Marshall, Secularizing the Faith, pp.108-13 and 143.

non-professional references were more likely to have been necessary for candidates without formal school references, comments on the personal life of a candidate were made with businesslike precision. Logic suggests that these men's lives were filled with more than church and studies, but, except in the case of irregularities, neither the candidates nor the society deem it necessary either to provide information, or inquire about the type of information expected of female candidates. By the 1880s men were actively engaged in many of the same voluntary religious activities as women, but did not consider them relevant to the application procedure, nor, presumably, to their careers as a missionaries. Even in the case of John Graham, who was hired by a youth organisation and remained committed to the value of youth organisations throughout his career in India, discussion in the official record was limited to the business of his ordination and the administrative details of his employment. The FMC failed to acknowledge officially the groundswell of popular support Graham's ordination and employment occasioned, and in so doing underestimated the value and importance of volunteer associations in the Presbyterian Church.[70] At the turn of the century a significant number of men were acting as the leaders of mid-week Youth Groups and teaching Sunday School, yet these activities were not considered fit 'work' to be referenced in applications. This suggests that these activities, under lay leadership and associated with women, were not considered part of the professional work of a church. A tension existed between the influence of the emotional, non-traditional spiritualism of Revival on one hand, and older church traditions and secular professional influences on the other.

While men may not have been writing about their church and volunteer activities between the 1870s and the 1920s, the records of several non-conformist chapels in the Reading area provide plenty of material about the degree and nature of men's involvement in voluntary chapel work, and the gendered nature of their involvement.[71] These local records offer additional support for certain points about mission interest and philanthropic organisation, while challenging others. These chapels were chosen for this study because of their connection to Robert Ashton and his family. While information about this link

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[70]John McMurtrie (later Secretary of the FMC) and John Graham were acquainted prior to Graham's ordination since Maclagan was the minister at the church Graham attended, and was an active youth worker while attending divinity school. Thus he and the church establishment were well aware of Graham's volunteer work, yet that work was downplayed beside his formal training; see: Minto, Graham, p.6.
[71]Yeo, Stephen (1976) Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis (London).

turned out to be scarce, Sunday School Reports throughout the period indicate how close were the connections maintained between these chapels and the LMS. The Independent Church in Abingdon used students from Highbury and Hackney Colleges as supply preachers, and hired graduates from Cheshunt as well; all three Colleges were educating future missionaries at this time.[72] The Chapel also supported the children of a former minister whose wife died, one of whom subsequently took up a charge in Montreal. The congregation paid for their schooling, and made sure to include the children in their church family at term breaks.[73] Their members also had close contact with prominent missionaries and mission supporters spanning several decades including Dr. Moffatt (Africa), James Legge (China, but at the time teaching at Oxford), Rev. T. Hunter (Eastern Himalayas), John Lambert (Benares) and Robert Ashton (Kachwa). These visits and personal correspondence inspired the congregation to make the type of directed donations which caused so much grief for LMS Directors; at different times these took the form of buying a music box for New Guinea, slides for India or dispensary equipment for China. Members also paid the salary of a Biblewoman (from whom they received personal reports) and made contributions to specific field projects.[74] These contributions added up to sizeable amounts. The gifts reflect both specific circumstances and general trends in giving. In the 1870s when many missions experienced a cash crisis, Trinity's financial situation was poor due to quick growth which necessitated the congregation beginning expensive building works. However, after Robert Ashton's visit in 1903 a £360 legacy was donated for his work, and he also inspired the Sunday School children to raise over £100 for five years running. By the 1920s these personal contacts and the motivation they stirred were gone; as a result the Chapel's yearly donations for medical mission work dipped to £20.

These Sunday School Records and Chapel Minutes are illuminating regarding the numbers of children attending Sunday Schools, who was teaching them, and what they were being taught. Throughout this period there is evidence that the Sunday Schools were well attended by local children. As they were not children of church members, this was an important form of church outreach. The instructive material provided to teachers was

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[72]BRO.D/N 1 1/1 1 Abingdon Independent Chapel Minutes 1823-1873.
[73]BRO.D/N 10 2 1 3 Trinity Congregational Deacon's Records, 23 November 1873.
[74]BRO.D/N 10 7 1 11/2 Trinity Congregational Chapel Sunday School Records, 1870-1936.

aimed at a female audience. Sunday School pamphlets emphasised patience "to gently lead them onwards and upwards" and the "different forms of beauty" in each child that needed to be trained to "a noble end and purpose," alongside the imperatives that "Time is short" and "Success is with God". However gentle this refrain, the matter which stands out throughout the five decades for which evidence is available is that of discipline. Teachers were admonished to keep good order, transgressions of which were being disruptive in class, and destroying Bibles and books in the Sunday School library. Joining the choir was a privilege reserved for well-behaved students, and only those who had attended at least forty percent of the instructive meetings were allowed to attend the Sunday Schools teas and the yearly out-of-town picnic. For the students and teachers alike, chapel youth programs were a mixture of the serious and fun. Teachers were berated for not attending to their planning and prayers meetings, and after the turn of the century the youth workers were in trouble from chapel elders for playing whist at meetings, and for hosting dances.[75]

While there were greater numbers of female than male Sunday School teachers throughout this period, they never significantly outnumbered the men. The teachers were generally unmarried, and siblings often worked together. No girls were appointed President of the chapel youth societies until the 1920s, and men served at the head of the Sunday Schools until well into the 1930s. There were repeated requests for more teachers throughout this period, particularly for male teachers who were expected to control older boys who would not listen to women. Class sizes were about thirty. Teachers were expected to pass rigorous examinations, and the Trinity and Abingdon Chapels joined the Oxford Sunday School Union in the 1880s after which the students sat external exams which varied according to their age.[76] Both boys and girls watched slides on missions and Bible stories, or attended mission tales of adventure (Deacons' Minutes record their good or bad behaviour). There were five times more girls than boys throughout this period, and, aside from the differences in their behaviour, the girls participated in different activities from the boys, and the instructive material was gender specific. The pastor's New Years letter instructed the boys in the ways of evangelical men of action: boys should talk about

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[75]BRO.D/N 10/2/1 11 Trinity Deacon's Minutes, 28 March 1911.
[76]BRO.D/N 10 2 1 3 Trinity Sunday School Records, 23 January 1873 and June 1886.

what they will do when they grow up and be men; play games without being conceited; and put their backs into work and not shirk. A Trinity boy should " love Truth as he loves sunshine, hates a lie, and would sooner do right than wrong and be punished rather than let someone else be blamed for his wrong". The young ladies in the Sunday School are addressed as facile beings whose only concerns are family relations. The pastor recommends that girls think of something more than being pretty or having a party dress, romp when well and be brave when ill, and read sensible books as well as silly. Girls need to know nothing other than how to spell, sew and bake better than they can sing, and the secret of being good rather than disagreeable and clever.[77]

Trinity Chapel also established a Society of Young Men in 1867 which became the Mutual Young Men's Improvement Association in 1873. It was led by either the minister or another member of the congregation for the next three decades. The Young Men met on a weekday evening to discuss literature and currents affairs, participate in Bible Study, and host the occasional mixed social evening.[78] Its objective as stated in 1873 was the intellectual and spiritual improvement of its Members, that it embrace all subjects, its primary principle be Christian; and that young men of all denomination would be accepted as members. The first Tuesday of each month was set aside to discuss secular subjects such as "The Purposes and Means of this Association", "Electricity", and "Books and Reading". Religious subjects filled the third Tuesday; members discussed "The Relation of the Bible to Modern Progress" and "Lot's principle of conduct when he departed Abram, briefly applied to young men setting out in life".[79]

The meetings planned by this interdenominational group of young men were not unique. Beginning in the 1870s a Young Men's Association was re-started at the Free East Church in Aberdeen, "having for its object the spiritual as well as the intellectual improvement of its members, and considering that doing active for the cause of Christ is an important means of spiritual improvement, resolve to undertake Mission work, and the member shall, as far as possible, give personal aid to the Mission, by teaching, visiting etc."[80] This

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[77]BRO.D/N 10 7 1 16 Trinity Chapel Pastor's Letter, January 1902.
[78]BRO.D/N 10 7/2 1 Trinity Chapel Society of Young Men, 1867.
[79]BRO.D/N 10/2 1 3 Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, June 1873.
[80]ACA.Acc.66/II/1 Minutes of Free East Church February 1885. Aberdeen students' involvement in such volunteer activities earlier in the century is mentioned in Piggin, St. Andrews.

group evolved into a literary society in 1885, and its members also enjoyed social events as well as the more serious meetings. Young men all over the country met to discuss not only religious matters, but also everyday life, in a religious context. At the same time their female counterparts were busy putting on "American teas" and "Boxed Socials," collecting money door to door, and helping the poor.[81]

However, while these activities were well described in women's applications to missionary societies, the young men's activities are only recorded in the minutes of these groups. Throughout this period men's applications for a mission post consistently employ the language of business, and limit themselves to business topics. An example of male involvement in voluntary church activities in LMS North India Reports of this period, was mentioned in a letter written by a missionary in Simla. He used the story of a young man who had taught Sunday School, belonged to the YMCA and attended a Congregational Chapel in London but then 'went bad' in Simla, as an example of the sort of problems a stronger LMS presence could check.[82] Men's failure to reference their volunteer associations masks detail about men's position relative to their families and wider British society. They did so because they had been schooled to separate home and work life, and to keep emotion out of business.[83] It is not until after the First World War that such attitudes changed significantly and that more than only the exceptional man became both willing and able to discuss this in more emotive terms, and to do so in a business setting.[84]

The evidence above was based on the type of information men provided (or failed to provide) as foreign mission candidates, in the context of the religious community and philanthropic services in which they participated as children and young adults. Focus will now shift to the correspondence available from men hired by the mission societies. LMS stations in the United Provinces provide material for the core of the argument since the workers there were followed over a long enough period and in enough detail to form a discussion about the professional development of male workers. However, there is

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[81]For a discussion of just how important the informal mentoring students participated in at Cambridge was on their development as missionaries see: Porter, "Cambridge and Keswick", 5-34.
[82]CWM NI(UP)C 6 1 C 93 W. Blake to J. Mullens, June 1878.
[83]Piggin, Making Missionaries, pp.59-60.
[84]Showalter, "Male Hysteria" in Female Malady, 147-94.

evidence from all three societies that changes in the mission personnel resulted in some of the same tensions for mission societies, which were being experienced by individual mission workers. The struggle between the demands of a more emphatic evangelical belief, and the sobering influence of denominational rules and wider societal expectations were reflected in the letters written by missionaries, and in debates over administrative reform and changing mission policy.

The missionaries who arrived in the United Provinces in the last half of the nineteenth century can be broken roughly into two groups. The first represents the middling-class candidates trained by the LMS in various religious training institutes. The second group is more solidly middle class, university educated, and contains individuals who might have been expected to be influenced by the late-nineteenth century culture of evangelical revivalism.[85] They employ a livelier language of faith in their official correspondence. However, the two groups tend to be more alike than different. In each, the theme which dominates their correspondence is professional unease - they all appear most concerned with the shoring-up of their own positions at the expense of each other, their female colleagues, and local church workers. CIM workers were more comfortable with emphatic religious language than their colleagues in either the LMS or Scottish societies; however, as the mission grew excesses of ecstatic belief became less acceptable and was replaced by the more usual, staid language of middle-class evangelical Britain employed by the emerging CIM leadership. Workers of both sexes in the EHM generally used down-to-earth language to describe their faith and the mission experience. While they were not emotional about describing their work, they employed some of the techniques used in revival movements which could be made to fit to the Presbyterian form of church organisation.

This first group of men did not write to the Foreign Secretary often. At times the respective Foreign Secretaries desperately culled their letters for something interesting or favourable to report in publications- since there often wasn't much. What they wrote was business-like, and practical. They focused on the running of the mission in administrative terms - budgets, buildings and personnel changes. This in part reflects the reality that male

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[85]See Chapter 3 above for detail.

missionaries were responsible for more of the mission and budget administration from which women were barred, but this fact alone cannot account for their reticence in discussing other than such matters. Letters written by other nineteenth-century men support the assertion that men's correspondence is indicative of how closely men identified themselves with their professional status. Throughout the century a formal business style had dominated the way in which even private matters were negotiated.[86] This is a familiar theme in nineteenth-century autobiography, where men masked professional insecurity by constructing a triumphant narrative at the expense of any private disclosure.[87] Although study after study of mission underlines the close relations which developed between various Foreign Secretaries and the men in the field, the letters written by male missionaries were written in a completely different tone from women's letters; private matters were rarely discussed except when they related to professional life, and even then such discussion followed strict rules. However it was information about everyday activities provided in familiar language which was needed to make mission work 'real' to supporters, and this was what most men were simply unable to provide.[88]

Correspondence covering almost half a century revealed surprisingly little personal information, with the result that the personal detail which is provided stands out. LMS missionaries were forced to blur the line between family life and work on occasion, but when doing so they limited themselves to strictly formal language. Discussion about family matters was necessitated by the fact that the society paid for the education of mission children as well as arranging for their transportation to England. Passage money was also requested on exceptional occasions when an ill wife or child needed to return home. The society provided an allowance for each child born. Thus each birth was mentioned to the Foreign Secretary, usually with no detail. [89] Edwin Greaves was more explicit than most about the contractual obligation involved, and asked for the "usual allowance".[90] One son is described as an 'imbecile' and a permanent drain on family

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[86]For an early example see letters exchanged between Robert Morrison and his children: WIHM.Western Manuscripts T2 19/E/25 5827 Morrison Letters (1-20, 21-40, 41-60 and 61-86); Also see: Tosh, "From Keighly", pp.193-206.
[87]For an example of such writing see: Taylor, Philip Meadows, (1877) The Story of My Life (Edinburgh).
[88]Porter, "Scottish Missions", 35-57.
[89]CWM NI(UP)C 9 2 A/8 J. Lambert to J. Mullens, 19 March 1875.
[90]CWM NI(UP)C 13/2 A/5 E. Greaves to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 6 February 1886.

resources, something that had never before been mentioned in all the available correspondence. While it had been inappropriate to complain about the burden of this child previously, it had become appropriate to include him when figuring sums for retirement - a primitive form of actuarial accounting. This tone is different from that found in either the Scottish missions or the CIM, each for different reasons. The Scots were expected to be practical and save for the future and Insurance schemes were provided to help them do so; CIM workers were provided with assurance from on high.

The line between negotiation and complaint, collegiality and uncomfortable familiarity was easily crossed. In a letter written after the death of the Foreign Secretary's wife, James Kennedy, then serving in Rani Khet, expressed his sympathy by making rather inappropriate comparisons to his own situation "I need not say that after so many years of happy married life I miss my dear wife very much and I find too that by her absence my work is in various ways hindered.[91] Kennedy crossed the line marking what was appropriate personal disclosure, and used the health of his wife to explain his lack of success in Rani Khet.

The employment of a member of a mission family also occasioned correspondence, as did the birth or death of a child or spouse. Very occasionally detail about personal matters appears in correspondence or reports. John Maclagan was Convenor of the CofSFMC in the early 1880s, and his candidly chatty correspondence style stands out against other writers. However, even he was slightly disdainful when he discovered the background of a long-simmering disagreement between two missionaries in the Punjab was nothing more than broken or missing crockery.[92] He made it clear that he considered each of the missionaries remiss in allowing such a trifling personal matter to escalate to the point where it threatened their work, and in bringing it to his attention. Such personal matters were the basis of mission conflict, a fact which the education provided at the WTI in Edinburgh was in a large part aimed at redressing.

As early as 1868 Robert Mather and Henry Budden had clashed in the UP mission, in part

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[91]CWM NI(UP)C 9 1/B 40 J. Kennedy to J. Whitehouse, 3 February 1875.
[92]MS.7555 CofSFMC Private LB, J. Maclagan to Wm. Macfarlane, 3 May 1883.

because of differences in personality, and also because of their differing views about correct mission practice. Their discussion reflected the anxiety which resulted from isolation and frustrated attempts to attract a constituency in Benares. This was compounded by Mather's jealously over Budden's independence from the BDC which was the result of local funding for his work, and due to Almora's relative isolation. However, Mather also criticised Budden for his focus on the provision of hospital care, shelters for women and children, and primary and secondary schools. In reality the Benares mission was just as involved in institutional work, and had established a European congregation, but Mather could not agree with the way in which his colleague spoke about his work. Budden struggled with the question of what the legitimate aims of the mission endeavour should be. He concluded that the provision of services which represented God's will were ends in themselves.[93] It was thus not within the authority of a missionary to determine success or failure in conversion. Budden was also critical of his colleagues who wrote about their evangelical commitment while in reality focusing on their economic and social status as English mission professionals rather than providing what Budden saw as more appropriate mission work. His fear was that their 'professionalism' would harm rather than help their mission.[94] These arguments foreshadow the struggles which continued in the UP until the closure of the mission, and were reflected in debates in missions world-wide.

A second wave of male workers arrived in the United Provinces in the 1890s. Their professional development reflected the theological challenges set by Keswick; they represented middle- class respectability, were university trained, and should have been aware that change would result from women's incursions into training institutions and the workplace. They represented a newer form of mission professional, and their arrival complicated existing tensions in the mission, widening the gap between individuals who were interested in being administrators, and those who focused on evangelistic purpose. The newer missionaries tended to be lay workers, who had been hired to take on the secular work which had been started in the mission. They were more comfortable with adopting the rhetoric of secular good works and, similar to women, with marrying their

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[93] CWM NI(UP)C 6 1/D 48 H.Budden to J. Mullens, n.d. Also see p. 123.
[94] CWM NI(UP)C 6 3/B 18 R. Mather to J. Mullens 15 May 1868; 6 3/D 48 H. Budden to J. Mullens, n.d.

evangelical commitment to concern for social welfare. However, these individuals were as insecure as their ordained predecessors, and for some, their rhetoric was stronger than action. During this later period in these LMS stations in the United Provinces, native mission workers remained shut out of mission administration. By the 1890s, while there were more native missions workers employed by the mission than ever before, they occupied lower positions and were not granted the respect given the few original catechists. Similarly, while the missionaries had been brought up in a world where women had negotiated greater educational and professional opportunities for themselves, this female challenge to men's traditional status sparked a reaction whereby 'women's work' continued to be compartmentalised as adjunct to the more important work undertaken by men. Even when the lay activities which had been dominated by women began to assume a more important role in missions, gendered divisions remained. Women's admission to official administrative roles on stations was the subject of rigorous debate. The Directors also revised the means of making donations. This was aimed at establishing effective supervision, but since fund-raising had allowed female workers some economic freedom over 'their' work, the end of direct donations had the immediate effect of curtailing women's independence.

These new workers display all the insecurities of the growing nineteenth-century middle classes in Britain and their ambiguous status in colonial India, and the insecurity about the future of LMS work in the United Provinces. They arrived with the material expectations of a British middle-class upbringing and passed through cities with long-standing European communities on their way to well-established mission stations. New missionaries felt it necessary to keep up with the social niceties already in place which could be an expensive proposition. When asked about pay reform one CofS worker replied,

> I approve of medical missionaries being put on the same footing as ordained missionaries. Might I suggest that missionary teachers who are university graduates should also be put on the same footing. Their education both before and after entering college is by no means inexpensive, and their tastes are quite the same as those of ordained missionaries. It costs them as much to live, and in India quite as much is expected of them as of ordained missionaries, and in some cases even

more is expected.[95]

The above was phrased quite differently than a series of letters written by Henry Coley, a missionary who served in Almora between 1877 and 1890. He was quite quickly in financial difficulty, the blame for which he placed on his wife and her inability to manage the house, a task central to nineteenth-century family economy.[96] He later complained that Almora was not big enough for his family although they managed to enjoy life on the station to the degree that he resorted to unauthorised spending of station funds.[97] While Coley complained that his wife received no salary for their inconvenience,[98] Henry Budden was loath to ask for a salary for his children at all, "my daughters are very reluctant to receive any definite remuneration for services which they much prefer to render gratuitously to the mission and I entirely sympathise with them, but I feel difficulty".[99] In the context of years of correspondence this does not appear to have been merely polite disclaimer, and when the stations in the UP were later threatened with closure Mary Budden was scathing about the lifestyle of other missionaries, "many workers could do with a lot less....the head of the CIM has it right. People have got used to more but they could do with a less affluent lifestyle, particularly when the Society is in debt".[100] She also turned back some of her already meagre salary.

It is always easier to point out the negative than the positive. Certainly some of what have been termed 'older style' missionaries were willing to describe their work in a personal manner, and not all were obsessed with what power and control they could wrest from working in the religious establishment, but too many were. However, more missionaries arrived in the UP beginning in the 1880s, ready to put their evangelical commitment into practice; they were willing to work outside the larger centres, and criticise their colleagues for their professional selfishness and for perceived lifestyle excesses. While the older men had failed to express their own religiosity in letters, some of these men began to do so, readily and in very personal terms. Some occasionally allowed a tone of self-deprecation

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[95]MS.Dep.298.10. CofS ff. 109, Dr. Hutchison to J. Mullens, 15 November 1887.
[96]CWM NI(UP)C 10 3/E 48 H. Coley to J. Whitehouse, 13 September 1880; Tosh, Man's Place, p.96.
[97]CWM NI(UP)C 11/2/D 41 H. Coley to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 11 June 1881 and 11 2/E/45, 23 August 1882.
[98]CWM NI(UP)C 12/2/D 48 H. Coley to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 20 August 1884.
[99]CWM NI(UP)C 7 3 A/10 H. Budden and the DC, 6 January 1871.
[100]CWM N(UP)C 14a/2 Miss M. Budden to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 3 April 1889.

to creep into their letters,

> I have nothing very cheerful to tell you, and now and again I get somewhat depressed at our want of visible success, wondering if some of the people are right when they call me a babbler - however that that title was accorded to another preacher a long time ago, and still He babbled on and will continue to do so for many a century yet.... taking a journey along the great South Road and can enjoy the shelter of the small way-side bungalows belonging to the public works department...one of the catechists and I came the first stage to Bhajwan Talao, about ten mile out, on Tuesday morning last and I hope to work along the road for another twenty miles and return in time for the Committee meetings in the beginning of November...before I left home I was getting forty or fifty cases a day (mostly fever) at my bungalow asking for medicine.[101]

As with the previous group, a few men served the mission for a long time. Three of these were college trained and ordained; one was ordained and had university medical training, and others were employed as un-ordained teachers.

This was a period when these LMS workers were re-defining themselves in relation to their work, although an apology was offered for each incursion into the personal. They continue to write about their work, to complain about colleagues, and to debate the status of women and that of native workers on DC, but alongside these discussions are others. Horace Theobald used a dramatic image to describe the death of his son Alfred "death sweeps down on little children in India as swiftly as the Kites swoop down on the chickens".[102] Another beautifully moving example of this was Arthur Parker's letter to Wardlaw Thompson about the death of his five month old daughter. This was sent alongside a Bill of Exchange, just a regular piece of business, but tells so much about the author and his family. To put it into context, Parker's letter appeared after thirty years of correspondence from his male colleagues which included little or nothing but estimates, budgets, requests for money and workers, and requests for furlough.

In the second line of Arthur Parker's letter, he offered her name: 'Charlotte Elizabeth'. This immediately stands out as it was one of the first times a child was named in a letter,

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[101]CWM NI(UP)C 14a/1 E. Greaves to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 11 October 1888.
[102]CWM NI(UP)C 17 3 H. Theobald to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 29 April 1903.

apart from when daughters were hired by the Society. Contrary to the sentimental 'death-bed conversion' scenes popular in contemporary women's missionary magazines, Parker wrote in a literary style. He described the powerful Indian climate as controlling life and as having almost literally suffocated his daughter. This is consistent with other literature about India, the landscape is dramatic, uncertain and terrible; on the other hand, the little English baby caught up in it "slipped away softly as a leaf trembles down from a branch in autumn".[103] Parker's application did not suggest a particularly sentimental side, although he consistently talked about himself and his wife as partners, suggesting a rigid demarcation between home and work did not exist for him. His wife, Rebecca Parker, actively supported the LMS throughout her life - she set up girls' boarding schools in Benares, and when they moved to Travandrum, supervised over one thousand women in the lacework industry there. Parker described the baby's death as a loss for her, but also for himself,

> It has been a sharp blow to us both and me particularly hard to bear. This is the first sorrow of our married life and it is one which seems to have befallen us in consequence of our residence in this terrible climate for there is no doubt that that awful heat crushed out our little babe's life. It has not made us love our work less or resent our calling but rather to feel more acutely the immense seriousness of the Service to which we are called - to have suffered loss for the good cause has made it dearer and has set it and all that belongs to it on a higher plane of thought and feeling.
>
> Pardon if I seem to have dwelt at too great a length on this domestic subject. I am glad to feel that I shall be understood to have written to you not as an official but as a Christian and a parent.[104]

Parker's letter stands out as immediate testament from a man about the importance of home life to a missionary against a dearth of other such information. When James Hewlett died in Almora in 1892, the Directors received a series of letters which detailed his last days and described his religious activities in the home. While in one sense these offer a remarkable glimpse into the home life of a very private man, they were written by his

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[103]CWM NI(UP)C 14b 2 A. Parker to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 1 July 1891.
[104]Ibid.; Also see: Norma Clarke, "Strenuous Idleness: Thomas Carlyle and the man of letters as hero", in Michael Roper and John Tosh (eds.) (1991) Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800 (London) pp.25-42; and Tosh, "From Keighly", pp.193-206.

wife. This illustrates that while these male mission workers may well have been at the centre of religious worship in their homes, a fact which contradicts the rhetoric surrounding women's work for women, they did not write about this fact.

The early male missionaries seemed to think their reports about the buildings and administrative dealings of the mission were adequate for their mission society. Their formal style reflected in their work; it also reflected the attitude that correspondence with London was often an irritating aside rather than an important link both within the LMS itself, and to its supporters. The LMS constituency wanted to see results, but not only lists of baptisms, marriages and church members. People who were exhorted to take their faith into every aspect of their lives looked for the same in the reports of the mission; this emotionality was what made women's reports attractive. Very few of the men in this study reported on the everyday realities of what should have been a spirit-filled endeavour. Henry Budden stands as one exception to this rule. He struggled constantly with his colleagues over acceptable methods, and he allowed the Foreign Secretary to be aware of his own personal struggles over mission purpose. On one occasion he reported a particular problem in the Leper Asylum which could have had a straightforward solution, but he agonised over finding a humane solution. Sadly, many of the individuals living in the hospital had been married before falling ill, but had to leave their communities. In this time prior to antibiotics which could control the infection, there was no way they could return to their families. In effect, the hospital itself became a newly-constructed community. It only makes sense that some of the patients began to form partnerships, which was a cause of concern for the mission. Budden's response was indicative of how he dealt with all issues. He did not immediately censure the patients, nor fall back on arguments based on culturally prescribed morals. Instead he reasonably described a situation where these individuals were married, yet effectively not, and his search for what would be a Biblical solution to the problem.[105]

The way in which male workers distanced themselves in their writing is reflected in their approach to their very constituents. The majority of them separated themselves as

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[105]CWM NI(UP)C 6 1/D 101 and 103 H. Budden to A. Tidman (who not unsurprisingly crossed the discussion out as 'not for publication'), 24 March and 12 June 1866.

European Christians, from the Indian Christian community. These LMS workers failed to treat their native workers as valued colleagues rather than distrusted underlings. Frank Lenwood (later Foreign Secretary and Honorary Director) spent time in the district as a missionary, and later on deputation. In an unofficial letter written in 1909 he stated "so much of the Christian activity *issues* from the big bungalow.... in the ordinary mission, were I an Indian, I should as soon think about becoming a Christian as I actively should think of giving my conscience into the keeping of a duke or a millionaire, if I were in England. God help us to get nearer".[106] His 1910 report points out the District Committee's failure to relinquish control and the reasons for dealing with the problem as, "the right of the Indian to a measure of control because of the value for his work.... after all the man who, though a servant, puts his best life into any work, gives far more than money. If men are hirelings, then they are no use to us; insofar as they rise above the level they deserve some measure of control".[107] The formal theological training of the missionaries who formed the LMS mission in the United Provinces left them with the expectation that they should be the leaders of the church they developed there. They appear to have lacked the skills necessary to develop native church leaders, and were downright suspicious of native converts who they accused of being untrustworthy and of being false converts. These were men who failed to distinguish between their roles as missionaries and the role of church leaders, which they were not; and also failed to listen to communications from the Directors to this effect. As a result the LMS left their North India work in 1929 to concentrate work in the South of India.

6.3 Conclusion

Each of these three missions found unique answers to similar problems. The LMS closed down its stations to focus on its more successful Industrial work in Travancore. In the Himalayas the Scots focused on providing migrant communities with the schools and medicine they required, proffered in the context of community-based small group evangelism led by native colleagues, "my warm-hearted Christian brothers".[108] Their

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[106]CWM NI(UP)C 20 2 F. Lenwood to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 23 December 1910. See p.106 above for a more full text of his report.
[107]CWM NI(UP)C 21 1 F. Lenwood to LMS Directors, 22 December 1910.
[108]MS.8006 CofSFMC 1890 Darjeeling Report "Chumba Mission" Mr. Downes.

ability to make real the mission's work to its Scottish supporters, "trying to speak in stammering lips", ensured a supply of volunteers and financial support.[109] The CIM steered its missionaries away from the expense and delayed gratification of institutional mission work, although the reality of creating a large mission meant that they too ended up with a large central mission administration. However, it was the CIM that learned quicker than the others what sold. While the Greaves, and Casebys were the minority in LMS and Scottish personnel, the CIM revelled in presenting the very emotive religious extroverts as their institutional face, when in reality the variety of individuals in each of these three missions was more alike than different.

This chapter has discussed how, compared to their female counterparts, male candidates differentiated between what sort of material should and should not be included as part of their religious background. Their applications were based on schooling qualifications, even though it appears that by the end of the nineteenth century, they were active Youth Workers and Sunday School teachers in their private time.[110] For the most part their hesitancy about including the extra-curricular activities as a valid and important part of the mission endeavour followed them to the field. Occasional glimpses of men having fun, and attracting attention to the mission because of those activities exist, but the few in this study were once again recorded by women workers. When a male missionary talks about his bicycle, it was as a form of transport.[111] For women the bicycle represented freedom and fun.[112] Ethel Turner mentioned that the Tibetan mission worker Samuel Gurkha had not only won the affection and respect of local men, but also that the mission

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[109]MS.8006 CofSFMC 1890 Darjeeling Report "Kalimpong Mission" Rev. Kilgour.

[110]An exception stands out. A. Charteris (CofS) described a candidates as an athlete "physically (as well as otherwise) strong". This statement signals that the link being made between physicality and faith was a familiar one, but it is not one that I have seen articulated with regularity. It is important to note Charteris's prominence in promoting the importance of extra-curricular activities to the Church, for both young men and women. MS.7537 LB of the Convenor ff.59, J. McMurtrie to J. Graham re: D. MacMichael 8 December 1898. Also see: Sandiford, Brian and Gordon Stoddart (eds.) (1998) The Imperial Game: Cricket, Culture and Society (Manchester) pp.9-34.

[111]CWM NI(UP)C 17 3 J. Jensen to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 6 February 1903.

[112]Ibid., 17 1 Miss A. Gill to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 28 January 1901. Women's schools provided opportunities for callisthenics and team sports , "representative of the new freedoms available to women at the end of the 19C." See: Vicinius, Independent Women, p.181. See also Figures 7 and 9: photos of girls demonstrating gymnastics at Chefoo, and of Miss Few's girls hockey team in the UP.

had become a focus for village boys as well, who "fly back for football".[113] While the complex, but important contribution women's culture made in Protestant Churches in the nineteenth century has been the subject of study, much less work has been done on how the secular, lay activities enjoyed by men fit into the religious movement at home and in the mission endeavour.[114]

While it is nineteenth-century women whose lives have been described as having been governed by strict rules governing 'the domestic' and 'the private' - this concept is more usefully applied to male mission workers. Correspondence from male missionaries suggests how strongly this demarcation existed for them even towards the end of the century - in fact it would appear that it was the wives who actually possessed the skills necessary to pass between public and private more easily than did their husbands. One of the old-style missionaries stated "I by no means underestimate ladies' ability or enthusiasm, but must confess to old-fashioned ideas about the relative positions assigned to men and women in the work of the church, and I seem to find ground for my hesitation in the New Testament".[115]

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[113]CWM NI(UP)C 17 2 Miss E. Turner to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 31 July 1902. Also see: Cashman, Richard "The Subcontinent" in Stoddart and Sandiford, Imperial Game, pp.120-22; again, this discussion centres on sporting tradition in elite groups in society.

[114]Porter, "Cambridge", 5-34; Mangan, Athleticism; Sandiford (1998) 9-34. Sport is described as an important adjunct to another mission in China. See Tyzack, Charles (1988) "The Playing Fields of Wen T'a" in Friends to China, (York) 75-81.

[115]CWM NI(UP)C 14b 1 E. Greaves to R. Wardlaw Thompson, 7 July 1891.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion: Fools for Christ's Sake

Missions became increasingly professional throughout the nineteenth century, both in ways which reflected the practice of wider British society, and more specifically in ways which reflected their religious and colonial identities, the theological and national differences between missions, and the individuals who involved themselves in mission work. Although begun in a spirit of ecumenism, throughout the nineteenth century the professionalization of the mission movement involved establishing and maintaining a mission-specific identity aimed at protecting the source of workers and funds at home, and at ensuring spheres of influence in the field. These developments may be charted through administrative changes, and through the development of mission polity.

While some general statements are applicable to all three missions, in some ways it is the complications of the specific which are more interesting. The LMS is the oldest mission of the three in question, and although it quickly became a primarily Congregational mission body, both its workers and supporters were broadly drawn from British non-conformist society. The Scottish missions represent a different administrative perspective. While in many senses the LMS policy was the result of experience, a certain surety of purpose, and assurance resulted from the financial backing and theological assurance that was afforded the CofSFMC and the FCofSFMC from their grounding in the Presbyterian Church. While the assurance of the Scottish missions stemmed from a solid mission base of sound finances, a long-standing commitment to education and the authority of an established administrative system, the assurance of the CIM was based on the authority of personal faith in God, and the remarkable personality and administrative capability of Hudson Taylor. In part because the CIM was a relative late comer in the century, and partly because of exponential growth it experienced, CIM administrative procedures were forced to develop quickly. Perhaps more importantly, having defined itself against other British missions and British society in general, the CIM's administrative procedures and mission policy required codification in order to protect the 'special ethos' of a quickly evolving, wide-ranging and multi-faceted organisation. As a result the CIM most obviously created its own brand of mission profession, the future of which was ensured

through intermarriage in the leadership and by moulding the next generation of workers at Chefoo.

At the level of the individual it seems clear that throughout this period gendered notions, of women in religious society and wider British society, played a pivotal role in how candidates were selected, and what manner of work men and women could offer to the mission. It is less straightforward a proposition to map the influence of gender on the changing face of the mission movement over the course of the century, but women's influence on missions is more subtle than is suggested by the evidence offered by numbers alone. When women moved into secular professions, and increased their sphere of influence in church work, the boundaries of their identity were modified. This in turn elicited further responses - the creation of different boundaries which were then challenged by dynamic individuals, out of administrative expediency, and as a result of theological engagement.

Generalisations can be dangerous, as the evidence of two decades of LMS work in the United Provinces illustrates. While certain individuals concentrated on the power and prestige of a mission post to meet their own needs, others appear to have conscientiously followed an unselfish evangelic purpose, whether in or out of institutions. Gendered arguments must also be employed carefully. Certain new female workers failed to thrive in the mission environment. Some were unable to study languages and one was sent home with mental problems. Yet other women worked in and out of the missions 'system', to carve out a women's field, and to push that field to more varied activities. Mary Budden's administrative capabilities have been mentioned previously. She supervised the work of both a woman who independently ran a leper asylum close to Almora (although there is little information about her work), and Ethel Turner, who travelled extensively in the foothills around Almora until ill-health forced her to stop and seek recuperation in Switzerland.[1] Rose Marris outperformed a male colleague on her language exams and carefully negotiated between LMS Directors and her station colleagues for an increased say in mission affairs. In 1890 her colleague, Miss Gill, lobbied Wardlaw Thompson to allow her to staff Duddhi, destined for closure unless a man, and a European man at that,

[1]See p.117.

could be found. In this case the Directors sided with her mission committee and denied her the opportunity. The men on the station welcomed women's work as necessary and good and agitated for the female workers to be professionally trained. However, throughout this half-century, gender-based perceptions of individual ability, and of the value of kinds of work - all contributed to a situation whereby work which had been developed as 'women's' continued to be undervalued compared to other mission business.

Figure 9: Miss Few and the Girls Hockey Team, c.1910

It is impossible to extricate the influence of gender on missions from the other processes bending/influencing mission purpose during this time. Key changes came about as missions attempted to address concerns over the quality of candidates and the education they were receiving, in order to prepare them for a changing mission experience. At the end of the nineteenth century all of the major missionary organisations were grappling with the question of whether education, medicine and social services were legitimate means of evangelization. All three were areas in which women were supposed to have innate ability, and women workers dominated them in terms of numbers if not in authority. This reflected the influence of the holiness movement, a movement in which

women could act as lay leaders, and in which emotive religious expression was allowed. Individuals expected a religious re-awakening which was to affect their whole life, with the result that secular professional activities became imbued with religious meaning - hardly a new notion, but through this movement the notion became real for more nineteenth century evangelicals. A second strand of influence came from the increasing importance put on scientific notions of health and education, and the importance of raising healthy children, and a healthy nation - in order to create a good here and now. Mary Scharleib is an individual who illustrates how gender, and religious and secular ideas merged to influence mission direction at this time.[2]

The result of all this was twofold. In the LMS and Scottish mission, indirect evangelism through education and health care became of increasing importance. The codification of admission and administrative procedures became more influenced by those from the secular professions, which meant that those qualifications were emphasised over an assessment of a candidate's religious qualities, which had always been next to impossible to judge. The increasing numbers of both male and female lay workers brought with them more secular notions of their purpose, and tended to focus on the here and now at the expense of the spiritual. Even after their initial commitment to the employment of independent female evangelists, the CIM retreated from what was later called an interim measure. In making the decision to cut back on their deployment of single women, the CIM, and the other Faith Missions it inspired, pointed to the same sort of administrative realities in hiring women as the other missions experienced: women had trouble learning languages, they experienced more health problems than did men, and it was difficult to house single women. Despite Taylor's early rhetoric, the CIM did not escape the gendered influences that had shaped women's work in the older missions. Women were celebrated as the supporters of mission work, but they remained very much constrained by the very nineteenth-century British middle class values which had initially been highlighted by women as a way into mission work.

Newly professional, single female mission workers threatened the hegemonic status of male missionaries in several ways. The female approach to missions required them to apply their expertise for social action. This offered an attractive alternative to mission

[2]See above p.41.

constituents uninterested in converting. Thus the 'women's work for women', which was originally intended as a side to the 'real' work of preaching, became as important a focus as the strictly ecclesiastical work. The attraction of 'good works' meant that more lay workers (with increasingly sophisticated training) were hired by missions, a fact which began to undermine the dominance of ordained clergy on mission stations. Finally, the presence of single women in the field threatened the personal order in mission communities, which was based on nineteenth-century western middle-class ideas that a man should be able to provide adequate material support for his family, and that his female relatives should remain dependent on him. It was at least in part through this very dependence that men constructed their professional identity. Mission applications and correspondence offer evidence that men both resisted the intrusion of women into the professional sphere, and learned from women, whose upbringing allowed them to apply their private faith and personal skills to their mission profession. It was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that male workers willing to bridge the gap between the private and the professional begin to appear in the mission record in any number, but the First World War interrupted a long-term process of professional development, and offered dramatic challenges to the cultural and evangelical assurance of the previous century.

In a sense the information offers a challenge to the notion of professionalism. While it is all too easy to dismiss the early attempts of various ladies committees to describe their ideal mission candidate, in reality it was an assessment of amorphous qualities which was truly necessary in choosing missionaries. It was many of the activities which helped define the social markers which were so important in defining 'respectability' in the last half of the nineteenth century, which could be redirected towards the evangelical purpose of missionaries truly devoting their lives to living "amongst the people, not beside them".[3] There is a subtle danger in presenting the increasing professional training of both male and female mission workers throughout the nineteenth-century as a straightforward ascent since the benefits gained from this progression are not so obvious as at first might seem the case. The individuals in the case studies presented here needed the personal assurance

[3]George L. Mackay (Presbyterian missionary to Formosa), quoted in Rohrer, James (1998) "The Development of Mission Theory and Principles in the Field: George Leslie Mackay of Taiwan, 1892-1901" *NAMP Position Paper* (56), Cambridge, p.1.

of educational qualifications, and the professional status of an administratively sound mission in order to give them the confidence to put their personal evangelical commitment into practice. Very few of the men working in the LMS missions in the United Provinces were able to lean on their professional status while stretching themselves towards a more personal type encounter in their mission work. Instead they tended to focus their energies on institution building almost exclusively. My analysis of the CIM work at Chefoo indicates that one of the important functions of the schools was to create a reservoir of middle class professional confidence for the mission, which could act as a supply centre for the mission's workers and their families. The Scottish missions in the Eastern Himalayan Mission were institution builders, but they appear to have successfully devolved at least some control over those institutions to the local Nepali and Lepcha Christians, and they incorporated extra-curricular endeavours onto the structure of their institutions in Darjeeling and Kalimpong.

The focus and direction of this study changed greatly over its four years gestation period. In that time what was originally a study of female medical missionaries broadened greatly to include women's work as other than medical doctors, the gendered background of both male and female workers, and a consideration of the importance of 'non-professional' qualities to the professional development of both men and women. This reflected a growing appreciation of the significance of women's contributions to missions through work not considered 'professional' in the strictest sense. Questions of professionalism can perhaps best be illustrated by a discussion of the medical field. Very few women in this study had the opportunity or talent enough to take a full course of medical training. More underwent training as nurses, although even this category of training encompasses a wide variety of preparation. Many more women attended various short-term medical-training courses, and more still claimed medical know-how based on their upbringing as middle class girls preparing to become the female head of their own home. It is important to consider these gradations in terms of women's emerging professionalism. However, the danger in this kind of analysis is that the value of the types of work which took longer to gain professional status can be lost in the shadow of the 'professions'.

This re-evaluation of notions of professional development, and in particular what work should be included as part of mission professionalism, has had a two fold effect. First, it

has demanded a reconsideration of the types of jobs missionaries were paid to do. The value of paid labour was determined not only by length of training, but also relied on complicated considerations of social background, race and class. This explains why certain individuals were in a position to influence the development of a given mission station or district rather than others, and explains the impetus behind the changes in mission professionalism more generally. While taking stock of social markers is not unusual in any consideration of women's lives, these markers have received less attention with respect to men's private and professional lives. In redressing this imbalance, it has become clear that any assessment of men's gendered assumptions offers benefits beyond simply understanding relations between the sexes. It underlines that nineteenth century males faced a reality of making choices within the same rules of reference as did women. The social markers determining male responsibility and respectability may have been configured in different ways than they were for women, but the rules were similarly complicated, and similarly resistant to change. The attempt to understand these rules indicates that growing professionalization involved negotiating what was constituted male as well as female professional behaviour. These negotiations were complicated in missions by the fact that mission work required a blending of more secular business expectations and behaviour with personal habits and attitudes. Institutionally this meant communicating more than strict business practise to mission administrators and supporters in Europe. It also required that missionaries transcend professional behaviour by allowing themselves to form cross-cultural friendships, and developing an ability to share their religious belief on a deeply personal level.

In approaching these problems, this study has beaten a unique path through both mission studies and British social history. Rather than present a study of women's experiences within the mission movement, this approach sought to understand and emphasize the central importance of gender in constructing personal and professional identity throughout the mission project – for individuals, on mission stations, and in the development of mission policy. This approach to mission personnel draws from work in British (and particularly recent Scottish) social history. However, one important difference in this study is the emphasis placed here on individual religious belief as a category of analysis. While social scientists recognize gender, class, education and race as important motivators for individual action, many of them appear unwilling or unable to include

religious belief in their discussions about the past in any meaningful way. This is perhaps particularly true in terms of detailing the western Christian past. Western historians appear to be more comfortable with including religion as a formative factor in their writings about other cultures than they are about their own. While there is an important social dimension to participation in religious groups, the personal aspect of individual religious commitment should not be overlooked, despite the religious persuasion of the researcher.

Perhaps the most interesting information contained in this study came from an unexpected direction. It resulted from asking similar questions about the male missionaries in the study as were asked about women. It was when gender (and not women) truly became a category of analysis that the importance of social markers became clear. Gender informed mission developments both at home and the field. For both men and women, gendered expectations determined the professional and personal skills employed in mission work. It is relatively straightforward to discuss the men's professional development in terms of certain markers – education and ordination stand out – yet other less obvious markers made important contributions as well. Particularly in this religious profession where the ability to communicate, and communicate complex emotive, ideas, was paramount, men who had been schooled to think of themselves and order even their family life in terms of economy and business, struggled to merge such disparate demands. They also faced the challenge of negotiating the permeable boundaries of class and respectability, a troublesome enough undertaking in Britain. These negotiations were compounded in the wider Empire, by race, and tension between secular and religious western communities. Previous research on missions has not focussed on male missionaries in this manner. Considering nineteenth century men in terms of social boundaries and markers of respectability allows a more nuanced picture to be drawn of their lives as mission workers. It also puts into context the changing dynamics which resulted as lay workers of both genders changed the face of British Protestant missions at the end of the nineteenth century.

Women played a game of professional 'catch-up' with their colleagues throughout the nineteenth century, both in terms of access to education and access to decision-making roles in mission administration. The minister providing a reference in the early 1930s paid

one candidate the highest compliment possible in saying she was willing to become a "Fool for Christ's sake". His letter spelled out clearly that she was a bright hard worker with a successful career, his phraseology denoting very clearly that she was the type of individual who had everything and yet was willing to give it up for mission work.[4] It sounds trite to say, yet in the end it was her willingness to leave a successful home life and meet new challenges which requires emphasising. In the end what mission stations needed was more than ministers, mendicants, and teachers and their associated institutions. These men and women required the ability to be the 'friend' one Indian delegate to the 1910 Edinburgh Conference requested missionaries be.[5] In the six letters that spell out this word 'friend', the paradox of missions and the struggles of mission recruitment are neatly encapsulated. In one sense being a friend is a skill mastered by the youngest child, yet in terms of missions, doing so demanded that missionaries subvert their own social and cultural make-up in order that that they might grapple with the needs of local cultures.

[4]MS.8001 UFCofSWMC Letters from and Concerning Candidates ff.55, Rev. E. Vernon's Recommendation, 21 January 1931.
[5]V.S. Azariah, in Gairdner, Edinburgh 1910, p.111.

APPENDIX

Table 1: CIM Personnel at Chefoo, in Relation to the Rest of the Mission

Year	CIM workers	CIM Children	Chefoo Workers
1881	96		
1882		8	4
1883	192		9
1884	180		
1886	152		
1887			13
1889	330		
1893		171	
1895		100 (boys)	
1896			25
1898	736	285	33
1900		344	
1901	735		
1903	763		48
1905	800	419	

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